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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# HARRINGTON HARBOUR:
# A STUDY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES
# IN AN EASTERN CANADIAN PERIPHERAL COMMUNITY

by

© LEO A. PONCELET

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN

PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled HARRINGTON HARBOUR: A Study of Socio-economic Changes in an Eastern Canadian Peripheral Community submitted by Léo A. Poncelet in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Supervisor

Date: the 19th of August, 1976

TO MY

DAUGHTER

D I A N E

WHO WAS BORN IN

HARRINGTON HARBOUR

## ABSTRACT

This study is based on a year's residence in Harrington Harbour, one of several communities strung along the coastline of Quebec-Labrador. Following the metropolitan theory, it is maintained that the dialectical interaction of certain centres of domination with the community explains the structure of the social relations of production present in it. The study is opposed to a dualistic interpretation of socio-economic changes in so-called traditional communities such as that of Harrington Harbour.

Accordingly, an attempt is made to show that the earlier fishing village community and the present proletarianized village community of Harrington Harbour are the results of the dialectical relationships of two types of centres of domination under which the peripheral community under study has developed.

Under the domination of pre-industrial mercantile centres until 1950, there were two distinctive modes of production present in the community; the market mode of production and the subsistence mode of production. Both of these modes of production were hierarchically arranged and articulated to the pre-industrial mercantile centres by juridical and political ties.

Under the domination of industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres after 1950, on the other hand, the village community of Harrington Harbour has become a proletarianized community. The labour force of the village and the whole community is alienated completely to outside capitalist forces. In fact, not only labour, but also the consumption units within the village community are articulated to the industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres by ideological ties.

In the final analysis, the proletarianized village community of Harrington Harbour and its internal social class structure based on conspicuous consumption of metropolitan commodities are responses to the changing material conditions of production set by the dominant entrepreneurial and commodity merchant over-classes in the Sept-Iles and Quebec City mercantile centres, around 1950.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To realize the present study, I am particularly indebted to the people of Harrington Harbour upon whom we descended in the summer of 1968, and who let me pry into their community with much conviviality and hospitality. Particular mention must be made of Grenfell and Greta Osborne who adopted us into their family and helped us in many ways. Without my beloved and faithful wife the project would have been abandoned. Alone, it would not have been possible to fight against resistance without perishing.

Without miss Barbara Baig, whom I found in Montréal two weeks before deadline, and who was willing to read and to edit ably the final draft of the thesis, the University of Alberta would not have granted the M.A. degree for fall 1976.

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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

# I. THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

## 1. The community under study

The name of the community under study is Harrington Harbour. Several other communities like Harrington Harbour are strung along the coastline known as the Quebec-Labrador coast, or the Lower North Shore of the Gulf of St-Lawrence, from Kegaska to Blanc Sablon (see map no. 1). Some of them have even been made the object of study by certain anthropologists (Junek 1937; Tremblay et al. 1969). Most of these studies, however, have not recognized the capitalist content within the regional socio-economic formation of the Quebec-Labrador coast. Instead, they have assumed the existence of an authentic "traditional" fishing mode of production.

From our standpoint, the Quebec-Labrador coast is an underdeveloped capitalist socio-economic formation at the periphery of urban centres of domination. The community of Harrington Harbour is not only a part-segment of a larger whole (Kroeber 1948; Redfield 1956) but mainly a dominated segment (Wolf 1966; Foster 1967) within the Canadian capitalist society.

In fact, this remote region of Canada was tradionally ruled and dominated by an urban over-class of fish merchants

Map No. 1
Location of Harrington Harbour
on the Quebec-Labrador Shore
LABRADOR
QUEBEC
Blanc Sablon
Harrington Harbour
Sept-Iles
Natashquan
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. John's
Tadoussac
GULF OF
ST. LAWRENCE
Quebec City
NEW
BRUNSWICK
P.E.I.
Montreal
NOVA
SCOTIA
Halifax
U.S.A.
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Boston
N
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600 Miles

who left discernable marks on it; today it remains dominated by an entrepreneurial and commodity merchant over-class. Fishing has been a declining regional economic activity, especially since 1950; it has been replaced by the formation of a rural proletariat who faces a general state of chronic unemployment which only state welfare can relieve (Daneau 1968; 1970).

Most communities along the Quebec-Labrador coast, (including Harrington Harbour), have a kinship structure which is bilateral (Breton 1973; Charest 1973). Only isolated cases of unilineal descent groups were identified (Beaucage 1970). As such, the most operational definition to demarcate a significant social unit of study within the social world of the Quebec-Labrador coast is Murdock's (1966:79) definition of the community. In fact, in bilateral societies, the only genuine social group beyond the nuclear family which can easily become discernable for analysis is the community, because it has a spatial as well as a temporal dimension. Its boundaries can be set on a map. They correspond to the interactional social system involving the "maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face associations".

This group in Harrington Harbour must extend over a relatively large spatial area of the Quebec-Labrador coast to account for past and present associations. In fact, this

area must be about 746 square miles. Its boundaries are shown on map no. 2. This is the area in Harrington Harbour where an ego will normally find the significant others for his everyday interactions, throughout his entire lifetime.

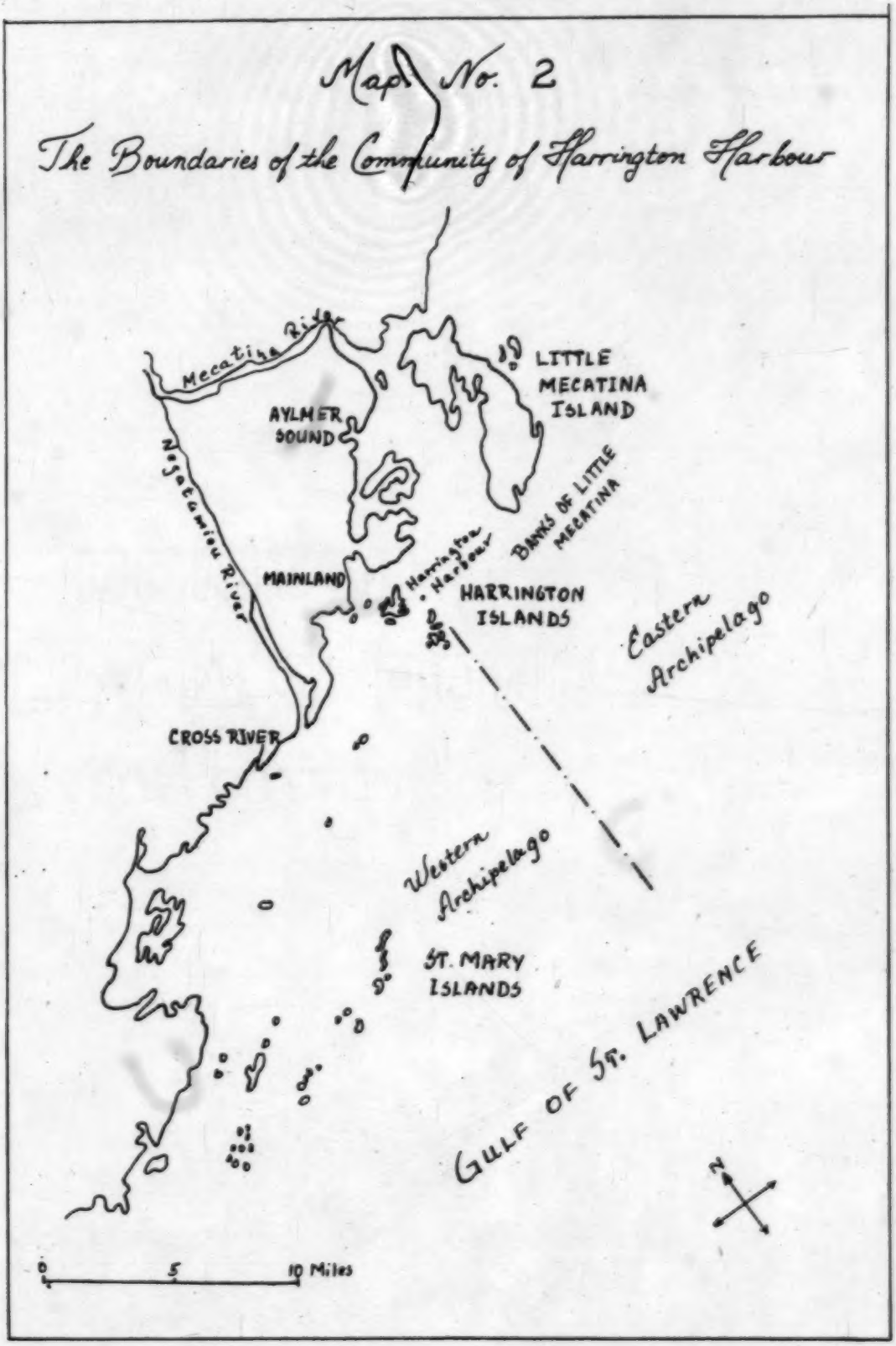
What also gives significance to the reality of such a social area as an operational unit for the study of the community of Harrington Harbour is that it functions as a total institution (Goffman 1961). In fact, in the minds of the local residents, it is conceived as a social unit distinct from the overall social reality of the Quebec-Labrador coast and from the total Canadian society of which it is objectively a part.

Such a social area, however, does not exclude social contact with other such social areas on the coast, or with the total society. This would be contrary to the objective social reality of Harrington Harbour.

In fact, men and women have intermarried to some degree. But the community is not by any means endogamous. There are no rules of community endogamy or exogamy. It can be said that Harrington Harbour has always been a community with a tendency to extend its marriage alliances with several other communities: with Newfoundland communities at the beginning; later, until 1950, with communities

# Map No. 2

## The Boundaries of the Community of Harrington Harbour



on the Quebec-Labrador coast; and, from 1950 onward, with urban communities (see table no. 1; no. 2).

Moreover, from 1900 to 1950, there is in-migration to Harrington Harbour from other areas of the coast, usually single males recruited as sharemen in the local fishery, often adopted by the recruiting nuclear family and marrying matrilocally. A parallel pattern is also followed by native Harringtonian men, but the out-migration is of lesser degree. There is also a certain degree of male and female out-migration towards urban centres, especially since 1950. Urban immigration to Harrington is also becoming important. These immigrants are usually the outsiders-in-residence.

## 2. The ecological basis of the community

The outstanding feature of the habitat of the community of Harrington Harbour is its duality. In fact, the community of Harrington Harbour is localized on two different environments which contrast sharply in terms of the kinds of resources available upon which its infrastructure can rest. This ecological pattern, however, is not unique to Harrington Harbour but characterizes the Quebec-Labrador coast as a whole (Charest 1973).

TABLE 1. -Women Exchange with Harrington Harbour.

| PLACE | WOMEN GIVEN | WOMEN RECEIVED | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Newfoundland | 8 | 3 | |
| Anse-au-Clair | 1 | 1 | |
| Brador | - | 2 | |
| Saint-Paul | 5 | 8 | |
| Old Fort | - | 2 | |
| Saint-Augustin | 1 | 3 | |
| Shakatica | 1 | 1 | |
| Lac Salé | 1 | 1 | |
| La Tabatière | 7 | 8 | |
| Mutton Bay | 3 | 7 | |
| Whalhead | - | 2 | |
| Kegaska | 24 | 16 | |
| Wolfe Bay | 4 | 4 | |
| Musquaro | - | 1 | |
| Total | 56 | 59 | 115 |
| Urban | 41 | 11 | 52 |
| Total | 97 | 70 | 167 |

TABLE 2. - Women Exchange with Harrington Harbour According to Periods.

| Period | Newfoundland Women | | Quebec-Labrador Women | | Urban Women | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Given | Received | Given | Received | Given | Received |
| 1870-1899 | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| 1900-1924 | 5 | 2 | 11 | 16 | 2 | 1 |
| 1925-1949 | - | - | 22 | 25 | 10 | 2 |
| 1950-1969 | - | - | 15 | 15 | 29 | 8 |
| Total | 8 | 3 | 48 | 56 | 41 | 11 |

a) The archipelagoes of Harrington Harbour
(see map no. 2)

The most significant part of the habitat of Harrington Harbour has always been the island environment, mostly because of the abundance of cod and seal.

Cod and seal are not available throughout the year as potential resources, because they follow a cyclical pattern of migration in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They migrate towards the coast and Harrington Harbour at specific times of the year. Their movement in the Gulf is due to changes in water temperature and other ecological factors (Huntsman, Bailey and Hachey 1954:198-260).

Cod are present in Harrington Harbour only during the summer months. In mid-June, shoals of cod in search of caplins and other pelagic species appear in the archipelagoes of Harrington Harbour. Here cod behave in a characteristic manner involving two phases.

First, they are attracted toward the shore waters near the islands of the archipelagoes. During this phase, the cod congregate in several sites (see map. no. 2), the most significant of which are the Harrington Islands, eight miles from the coast. A secondary site is located in the eastern archipelago of Harrington Harbour, near little Meca-

tina Island. In the western archipelago near the St. Mary Islands cod sites may also be found; but they are of lesser importance.

Later, during the second phase around the middle of August, cod leave the shore to move in deeper water. Generally, the Banks of Little Mecatina, east of the Harrington Islands teem with cod in August. By September, or the beginning of October, cod move further into the Gulf, and abandon the archipelagoes of Harrington Harbour.

Seal are present in Harrington Harbour during the early part of the winter months. Shoals of seals generally appear in the archipelagoes of Harrington Harbour around mid-December or the beginning of January. They come from their summer northern site beyond the Strait of Belle Isle to give birth to their young on the icefields, near Anticosti Island a few hundred miles southwest of Harrington. Their passage through Harrington Harbour varies in length depending on the temperature and the condition of the ice: it may be very short -- only one or two weeks -- or as long as six weeks.

Like cod, seals approach only the shore waters of the archipelagoes of Harrington Harbour, rarely the coast

proper. The Harrington Islands are the most important site for seal; the sites near Mecatina Island and St.Mary Islands are of secondary importance (see map no. 2).

Except for fish and seal, the rocky granite islands within the Harrington Harbour archipelagoes are relatively barren. Extensive vegetative growth is discouraged by the high salinity of the island environment and the general lack of good soil. Only dwarf trees and other low shrubs can occasionnaly be found. During the spring and summer seasons, however, the barren islands are livened by a semi-arctic variety of creeping vegetation of an extraordinary growth and brillance. Nonetheless, apart from the marine resources, the only other significant resources in the archipelagoes of Harrington Harbour are the bake-apples (Rubus chamaemorus), a good source of vitamin C, and the red-berries.

b) <u>The mainland of Harrington Harbour</u>
(see map no. 2)

The mainland constitutes the other part of the habitat of Harrington Harbour. Here the general conditions are more favorable to vegetative growth. However, the development of intensive agriculture is not possible because of the short growing period, averaging only 100 days per year. Nonetheless, with the use of marine fertilizers to enrich the soil, gardening is possible.

The resources available on the mainland are relatively abundant and diverse. The most significant is the extensive tree belt behind the coastline. Watered by the Negatamiou and the Mecatina Rivers, the forest is composed of the characteristic black pine (Picca Mariana) and the fir-tree (Abies Balsamea) of the Quebec-Labrador coast; the birch-tree (Betula Glandulosa), the aspen (Populus tremeloides), and the larch (Larix laricina) are also present.

Rabbits and caribou find their abode in the forest region, and trout and salmon are found in the rivers. Fur-bearing animals are present on the mainland. However, they are more plentiful in the far interior. Most significant are the fox (Vulpes rubricosa, Alopex lagopus fuliginosus, and Alopex lugopus ungava), the mink (Mustela viso lowii), the beaver (Castor candiensis), the lynx (Lynx candensis), the muskrat (Ondatra zibethica aquilonis), and the weasel.

Finally, it must be noted that mainland and island species of birds thrive in the vicinity of Harrington Harbour the year round.

### 3. The history of the settlement of the Quebec-Labrador coast and of Harrington Harbour.

The settlement of the Quebec-Labrador coast has been constrained by a system of feudal rights and concessions.

Under French rule, land and fishing rights on the Labrador coast were conceded to a few nobles and seigneurs favored by the Intendant of New France. After the fall of Quebec in 1760 and the establishment of British rule in Canada, a group of Anglo-Canadian gentlemen of Montreal formed a company known as the Labrador Company, which acquired from the the British government the land and fishing rights on the Quebec-Labrador coast.

The coast did not open up to independant settlement until after 1820, when the Labrador Company sold its rights to individual entrepreneurs (Charest 1970:59). Families of private entrepreneurs interested in exploiting the seal resources of the coast rather than the cod resources soon began to settle the Quebec-Labrador coast. These were few. The Robertsons, the Gallichons and the Joneses who are found today on the coast are the descendants of these early settlers. They are either of Scottish or of Jersey origin.

From 1850 onward, more migration occurred toward the coast. This time the families who settled there were cod fishermen. From 1850 until 1870 the migrants came mostly from the southwest: Anticosti Island, Nova Scotia, and the Quebec North Shore. They were of diverse origins, but French-Acadians were predominant. They settled different areas of the coast (Charest 1970), but none settled within the vicinity of Harrington Harbour. Harrington Harbour was only settled

later by fishermen from the south and west coasts of Newfoundland during the period 1870 to 1900 when a significant Newfoundland settlement took place on the Quebec-Labrador coast.

Newfoundland settlement on the Quebec-Labrador coast is an offshoot of a nomadic Labrador fishery carried out from Newfoundland and depending on St.Jean merchants for capitalization. However, little mention is made in the literature of the operation of such a fishery within the vicinity of Harrington Harbour, or on the Quebec-Labrador coast for that matter. When reference is made to the existence of a Labrador fishery, it concerns the far eastern part of the Quebec-Labrador coast near Blanc-Sablon, or the southern part of the Newfoundland-Labrador coast (Junek 1937; Breton 1973).

Possibly the lack of notice by historians of the activities of the Newfoundland Labrador fisheries on the Quebec-Labrador coast can be explained by the fact that these activities had to be carried out clandestinely, since in post-Confederation years the Canadian and Newfoundland fisheries were under different political States. In fact, Newfoundland remained a colony of Great Britain until 1949, when she joined Canada. Confederation and the creation of the Dominion of Canada imposed legal restrictions on Newfoundland fishing and settlement rights on the Quebec-

Labrador coast.

Nonetheless, during the early post-Confederation years, one can surmise that Canadian Law was not a serious deterrent to Newfoundland activities on the Quebec-Labrador coast. Given the prevailing conditions then, efforts of federal customs officers to control any Newfoundland activity could not have been very effective. To be sure, the time of arrival and the point of origin of the early Newfoundland settlers in Harrington Harbour can only suggest that they were able to enter Canada as squatters, and also points, to a thriving Newfoundland Labrador fishery on the Quebec-Labrador coast during the early post-Confederation years. To form the fishing crews, this Newfoundland-Labrador fishery recruited fishermen on the south and west coasts of Newfoundland, the place of origin of the early settlers in Harrington Harbour.

In the final analysis, the existence of a Newfoundland Labrador fishery in the vicinity of Harrington Harbour is substantiated by the recollections of local informants. Without doubt, in the 1870's there was a Newfoundland-Labrador fishery thriving on the Quebec-Labrador coast; from this fishery came many of the early settlers of Harrington Harbour. However, the fine points of its organization are regrettably lost to man's memory.

## II. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE STUDY

### 1. "Le projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord".

On an ecological basis, Junek (1937) divided the Quebec North Shore into three distinctive culture areas. These were put within the general framework of the folk-urban continuum in which Quebec City was at the urban end of the continuum. Since the fishing outports of the Quebec-Labrador coast were the farthest removed from Quebec City, they were described as possessing the rural traits of the continuum.

Professor Marc-Adélard Tremblay (1968), from Laval University in Quebec City, drew up a research program to study each of the three distinctive culture areas identified by Junek in a long-term project which came to be known as the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord". The research program started in the summer of 1965 with the study of the community of Saint-Augustin (Tremblay et al. 1969) on the Quebec-Labrador coast. Influenced by Junek, the field workers studied the socio-cultural changes of Saint-Augustin within the general framework of the folk-urban conceptualization of social change (Lewis 1973).

Thus, the main theme concept that directed the research in the community study of Saint-Augustin was the concept of isolation. In an attempt to describe the tradi-

tional Saint-Augustin community before the breakdown of isolation in 1950, an emphasis is put on the several traits which are more likely to show the isolation of Saint-Augustin from urban influence. The emphasis on the concept of isolation as the major organizing theme of the monograph is even incorporated into the world view of Saint-Augustin which is said to be imbued with a marked isolation complex (Tremblay et al. 1969: 145-166).

The study of Harrington Harbour was also conceived within the general scope of the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord". Professor Tremblay had chosen to multiply community studies on the Quebec-Labrador coast by employing student field workers conforming to a Boasian methodological premise:

> "the careful and slow detailed study of local phenomena" within a "well-defined, small geographical area that forms the basis of the study". Out of this study would emerge "histories of the cultures of diverse tribes". It was only by comparing these individual histories of growth that the "general laws" of human development could be discovered (cited in Kaplan et al.:71).

These studies, along with several others, were to serve as comparison studies from which an over-all description of the culture area of the Quebec-Labrador coast could be derived. The description of the culture areas on the Quebec-North Shore were to permit generalizations and the creation of an ethnology of the Quebec-North Shore (Tremblay

1970:11-15).

The "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord" contained a basic contradiction. It was a professor's project, mostly financed by the Canada Council, and using the labour of graduate and undergraduate students as field workers and research assistants. Although there may have been a desire to create horizontal relationships amongst the co-workers, the status hierarchy within academia defined the relationship of the co-workers, their influence, their tasks, and their wages.

In such a project, the field worker could easily become the mere object of the project. Althouth the field work situation may vary from field worker to field worker, the field study that the field worker in the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord" had to conduct, had to fit within a pre-conceived scheme. Moreover, during his stay in the field, he had to mail out to the University a weekly quantity of field material for the use of other co-workers in the project. In other words, he was forced to treat as objects people whom he may have experienced as subjects in the field.

2. <u>The field work situation in Harrington Harbour</u>

In the summer of 1968, both my wife-to-be and

myself were employed by Laval University to conduct field work in the community of Harrington Harbour. At the time, we were both students who had completed undergraduate studies in anthropology and sociology. Our assignment in the field was to collect data on the socio-economic organization of Harrington Harbour and on the socialization of children, within the perspective of the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord".

To perform the field work, we were limited to a stay of three months and were allowed a minimal expense account for that period. For the first part of the field work, we both lived independently, each with a different family in the community of Harrington Harbour. Subsequently, however, because of strains within the field situation, and in order to acquire a deeper insight into the mechanism of the community, we felt that it was necessary to prolong our stay. Since the material collected for the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord" could be used eventually for the preparation of a Master's thesis, we agreed we should stay during the whole academic year 1968-1969, and so as not to overburden the project, we decided to finance the extra portion of the field work by our own means. Also, during the summer 1968, we took the opportunity of the field situation to marry. After our marriage, we rented an abandonned house on the island of Harrington Harbour for $25.00 a month, installed an oil stove, and moved in. Soon afterward, a water

barrel, a chamber pot, and an oil lamp were lent to us by a few local families who did not need them. In fact, the things which were lent to us were obsolete for most of the local residents of the island of Harrington Harbour. Most had plumbing and electricity.

In other words, to prolong our stay in Harrington Harbour we made personal decisions and adopted a lower standard of living than some of the local families within the community we intended to study. To be sure, our living conditions contrasted radically with those of the urban outsiders-in-residence.

As a consequence of our decisions, we experienced a greater integration within the local community. However, we felt some uneasiness with the people representing the dominant urban class, and an immediate breakdown occurred in our relationship with the director and the co-workers in the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord".

During the first stage of field work, rapport with the outsiders-in-residence seemed somewhat easier. They gave abundant opinions about the local people and their ways. The local residents were less vocal. Depending on their respective financial positions within the community, they attempted either to impress us by unbecoming urban manners, or to arouse our pity by relating health problems or economic

hardships. In brief, the village community transmitted an image of itself which indicated that it identified us with the outsiders or the dominant urban class.

During the final stage -- that is, after we had married and taken residence in a shabby house on the island of Harrington Harbour -- this image started to break down. People let us participate more freely in their activities. They even invited us to take part, and they spoke to us more on equal terms or explained things to us in their terms of reference.

After the end of our field term, we returned to Laval University broke. The tensions within the "projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-nord" became unbearable, so we left. Only years later was I able to obtain the conditions to resume graduate studies in anthropology at the University of Alberta.

At the University of Alberta, I took Dr. Frucht's graduate seminar in anthropology of development, and became interested in using dialectical materialism and historical materialism to analyze the field research material collected in Harrington Harbour.

Thus this thesis is the result of unusual conditions. I think that the interpretation and the analysis of the situation in Harrington Harbour are sound. They can stand by themselves. But the mention of those unusual conditions can only reinforce my thesis.

# CHAPTER II

# THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

## I. THE PROBLEM AND THE AIM OF THE THESIS

Anthropoligists who have been studying underdeveloped capitalist socio-economic formations at the periphery of the world capitalist system have generally not recognized the capitalist content within the so-called traditional modes of production (Dhoquoi 1971: 70) because they have often fallen prey to the myth of the dualistic economic model (Frank 1966; 1967). Even in urban anthropology, the tendency is to study the economic organization of communities at the periphery of major urban centres with the assumption that there is an authentic traditional mode of production as opposed to a modern mode of production.

Accordingly, anthropologists have generally understood change within the traditional mode of production as the result of assimilation to a more progressive economic and social system. Thus their approach to the study of so-called traditional communities has generally failed to produce any significant understanding of their true nature and dynamic since they were in fact studying alleged traditional modes of production as if they were real.

A more fruitful approach based on the metropolitan theory (Frank 1967; Davis 1971) will be applied in this community study. An attempt will be made to show that to

understand meaningfully the intra-community socio-economic relationships of so-called traditional communities, these communities must be described and analyzed within the dialectical framework of the centre-periphery relationship. In fact, it is the dialectical relationships of certain centres with the communities which can explain the structure of the social relations of production present in them.

The aim of this thesis, therefore, will be to verify this contention by reconstruction of the changing social relations of production within the so-called traditional community of Harrington Harbour in which field research has been conducted.

Following the metropolitan theorists, the village economy of Harrington Harbour can be seen as having developed within a world capitalist system. Thus, it has always been subjected and subordinated to the law of capitalist development which Marx (1969; Aveneri 1969; Selsan et al. 1970) has distinguished as the law of uneven development. In other words, the community of Harrington Harbour is a peripheral community, the economy of which has always been locked into a world capitalist network of metropolis and hinterland relationships hierarchically linked together in long imperial chains.

What the metropolis-hinterland relationship means, in essence, is that the metropolis is the area where the capitalist ruling elites manage and manipulate the economy of the hinterland for their own benefit, creating underdevelopment in it by expropriating the economic surpluses and arresting independent development (Baran 1957).

The metropolitan theorists usually consider the metropolis as a centre of manufacture and industry importing from its hinterland economy labour and raw material, and, in return, exporting manufactured commodities. Thus, the metropolitan theory is essentially a manufacturing centre-periphery theory. It is not concerned as such with the dialectics of less developed centres and their periphery; at least it does not distinguish clearly between the different kinds of centres involved in the capitalist chain. This seems to be one of the major weakness of using the metropolitan theory to explain the particular situation in Harrington Harbour.

In fact, as will be shown, there have been two types of centres which have structured the intra-community socio-economic relationships in Harrington Harbour: pre-industrial mercantile centres and industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres. Only by distinguishing these two types of centres and their historical sequence can the metropolitan theory become a useful tool to understand the situation in

Harrington Harbour.

With this aim in mind, therefore, we shall discuss in more detail later in this chapter the centres of domination under which Harrington Harbour has developed. Although it is acknowledged in theory that these centres are subordinated to manufacturing centres within the Canadian and world capitalist system, our study does not require us to trace the ramifications of the capitalist network beyond a few lower urban centres. These are the only significant ones for our study since they have effectively structured the intra-community socio-economic relationships in Harrington Harbour.

Marx's conceptualization of production can also be useful in this thesis to describe the intra-community socio-economic relationships of Harrington Harbour.

Production for Marx:

> ...is characterized by two indissociable elements: the labour process, which deals with the transformation man inflicts on natural materials in order to make use-value out of them, and the social relations of production beneath whose determination this labour process is executed (Althusser 1970:170).

In fact, as pointed out by several anthropologists -- Godelier (1971:99-106), Dhoquoi (1971:67-71), Terray (1972) and Beaucage (1973; 1973) among others -- an underdeveloped socio-economic formation such as that of the Quebec-Labrador

coast may contain a combination of modes of production subordinated and hierarchically arranged in relation to the dominant centres of domination. The different modes of production and their particular combination within peripheral communities are the result of the domination of different kinds of centres.

Thus, for a comprehensive comparative understanding of the organization and functioning of peripheral communities, the role of the anthropologist is to identify these modes of production, and show how they are articulated to the dominant centres.

## II. THE CENTRES OF DOMINATION AND THEIR OVER-CLASSES.

### 1. The pre-industrial mercantile centres

From the time of the early settlement of the Newfoundland under-class fishermen in Harrington Harbour (1870-1900) until about 1950, the village economy was tied principally to pre-industrial mercantile centres and dominated by an over-class of urban fish merchants. They acted primarily as intermediaries between the peripheral village fishing economy and the international fish market.

These urban fish merchants were in business for individual capitalist gain which depended solely on the

commodity production of the under-class fishermen. They specialized in the trade and exchange of urban-produced consumer and productive goods for the commodity production of the fishermen. Their business ventures were characterized by constant risks of lost capital, since they had little control over the world price structure of fish. Their strategy to maximize profit was therefore, to minimize their investments in fixed capital by importing to Harrington Harbour the strict necessities, and to establish a long term credit system with the fishermen which eliminated the use of money for transactions.

Both the sales of the fishermen's produce on the world fish-markets and the restriction of cash flow within the village economy of Harrington Harbour contributed to the capitalist expansion of these urban fish merchants. They could accumulate wealth not only as production was drained out from the village fishing economy and sold on the world fish markets, but also through the credit system. By this system, in poor years, they were under the obligation to support the under-class fishermen. In good years, however, they were entitled to withhold on account, for future credit, money payable to them on which they could reap interest by investing it in the world banking system.

The over-class of urban fish merchants was located principally in St.John's (Newfoundland), Halifax (Nova Scotia), and Quebec City, urban centres notable for their low level of industrialization even today. Since Confederation (1867), a perpetual state of subordination to cities in Central Canada and in the U.S.A. where manufacturing industry has flourished the most, has created the underdevelopment of these urban centres.

Competition among the over-class of urban fish merchants for the business of the fishermen in Harrington Harbour seems to have been negligible. Rather, as field data suggest, a quasi-urban fish merchant monopoly existed. In fact, the domination of an over-class of urban fish merchants originating from several centres was sequential.

In the formative years of Harrington Harbour (1870-1900), only Newfoundland fish merchants transacted business with the under-class fishermen. At the turn of the century, they were followed by Halifax merchants. Quebec fish merchants dominated the peripheral village economy of Harrington Harbour from the 1920's to the 1950's. (*)

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(*) After 1950, the village economy became dominated by Commodity merchants (see section b).

The shifts in economic dependency from Newfoundland to Halifax, and from Halifax to Quebec, can be explained by geographical, historical, and political factors.

During the formative years of Harrington Harbour (1870-1900), proximity to Newfoundland, the common origin of the fishermen, and the low efficiency of the Canadian governmental bureaucracies were all factors that naturally pulled the fishing village economy of Harrington Harbour into the orbit of fish merchants from St.John.

In 1900 greater effectiveness in the administration of the fisheries on the Quebec-Labrador coast by the Canadian governmental bureaucracies put an end to the laissez-faire situation, discouraging the Newfoundland fish merchants. Since Halifax now became the closest Canadian mercantile centre, Halifax fish merchants began to initiate trade relations with the under-class fishermen of Harrington Harbour.

In 1921 changes in the Ottawa-Quebec relationship concerning the administration of the fisheries in the Province of Quebec encouraged the monopoly of Quebec fish merchants over the peripheral village-economy of Harrington Harbour. By special agreement, the Government of Quebec (in Quebec City) acquired the rights to administer her own fisheries. One consequence of this Act of Parliament (1921)

was the reorganization of the Quebec fisheries in terms of a Quebecois administration, protecting the capitalist interests of a Quebecois bourgeoisie in Quebec City.

Among other mercantile developments, the Government of Quebec subsidized a Quebecois Steamship Company to operate on the Quebec-Labrador coast. The creation of the Steamship Company reinforced the Quebecois fish merchants' monopoly of the market on the Quebec-Labrador coast.

2. The industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre.

Since 1950 the peripheral village community of Harrington Harbour has been tied to an industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre dominated by an over-class of commodity merchants from Quebec City instead of by an over-class of fish merchants. These commodity merchants do not seek profit primarily by the sale of the under-class fishermen's produce on the fish market as did the older over-class of fish merchants. Their aim is to maximize their profits by the sale of commodity products to the fishermen. The sale of fish is secondary to their plan because the fish business on the Quebec-Labrador coast is becoming increasingly unprofitable. In other words, unlike the older fish merchants, they do not act primarily as intermediaries between the peripheral village community and the international fish market,

but rather link the village to the manufacturing centres in Central Canada and in the U.S.A.

Harrington Harbour is therefore still a periphery of an older mercantile centre, Quebec City. However, some of the older conditions of domination have changed.

Until 1950 no significant centres of industry had developed between Harrington Harbour and the pre-industrial mercantile centres mentioned in the preceding section, except for certain pulp and paper mill towns on the Middle and Upper Quebec North Shore (see map. no. 1). But these centres were of minor importance.

Only after 1950, when American corporations undertook the development of the mining resources in the interior part of Labrador, do we note a significant area of industrialization between Harrington Harbour and Quebec City, located around Sept-Iles, a port-city on the Quebec North Shore.

Nevertheless, this new industrial non-manufacturing centre in the vicinity of Harrington Harbour did not supersede the domination of Quebec City over the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour. Instead, it became a subordinate centre to Quebec City, playing a special function in the capitalist chain and contributing to the development of

its over-class of urban commodity merchants. In fact, by permitting the institutionalization of a seasonal wage labour system, among other things, this new centre stimulated a higher level of circulating capital within the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour. The individual capitalist gain of the over-class of commodity merchants depended on a peripheral village economy into which government and industry (through wages) pumped in money.

Second class mail and most commodities shipped to Harrington Harbour are still carried by freight boats owned by one Quebecois steamship company created in the early 1920's. Favored by Government subsidies, this company was able to maintain, until today, a monopoly on all the important freight shipped to Harrington Harbour. In fact, because of this comparative advantage, it has been able to offer special tariff rates to a selected number of commodity merchants from Quebec City. Thus, it was repeatedly able to squeeze out other competitors in the freight business.

The construction of a highway connecting the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour to Sept-Iles and to the national highway system is also likely to remain an electoral promise for many years to come. The dominant over-class of Quebecois commodity merchants and the Quebecois steamship company in question have little or nothing to gain from such an enterprise.

Nonetheless, since about 1950 the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour has been connected to Sept-Iles by an airline company, also subsidized by the Government. However, this company is not a true competitor.

First, the climatic conditions on the Quebec-Labrador coast do not permit navigation in certain months of the year, when the Gulf of St-Lawrence is frozen over. Air transport is essential then, at least to carry the most essential commodities: the first class mail and passengers. It is the only means of transport available to link Harrington Harbour to the centres.

Secondly, at other times, the airline company only carries the first class mail and passengers. Even for the circulation of people from Harrington Harbour to and from the centre, the Quebecois steamship company has no real competitor. The fares on the passenger boat owned by the steamship company are much lower than an air fare ticket. In short, far from being a competitor, the airline company offers, in fact, an alternative mode of transport essential to a transport system serving a peripheral region such as the Quebec-Labrador coast. In the last analysis, it serves best the capitalist needs of the industrial non-manufacturing mercantile center of Quebec City, and its commodity merchants.

Because of merchant monopoly, the commodities shipped towards Harrington Harbour via Quebec City and Sept-Iles are generally of poorer quality and of higher price than the same commodities sold in Central Canada.

Moreover, not only has the quantity of the commodities shipped to Harrington Harbour increased since 1950, but the commodities have also become much more diversified. In fact, many of the under-class fishermen in Harrington Harbour have changed their mode of transportation from the dog sled to the mechanized snowmobile. Many of the newer houses constructed are built with material products imported from Quebec City instead of local materials. Since 1960, when electric power became available in the peripheral community, Harrington Harbour has imported many electrical appliances from Quebec City: these appliances range from carpenter tools to household appliances. In brief, the material universe of Harrington Harbour since 1950 has become invaded increasingly by metropolitan manufactured commodities imported by the commodity merchants of Quebec City.

The local shops (*), as they are called, are the main distributors of these commodities. Located on the island of Harrington Harbour the two main shops which serve the peripheral community carry a wide display of commodities,

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(*) The language in use in the community is English.

from groceries to electrical appliances.

The local merchants who own these shops are supplied by the commodity merchant over-class in Quebec City. Various retail store owners in Quebec City have assigned representatives who periodically visit the local shop owners in Harrington Harbour to take orders and to recommend the display of new commodities.

## III. CONCLUSION

We have attempted in this chapter to define our theoretical approach to studying socio-economic changes in Harrington Harbour. As will be shown, the changes in the intra-community socio-economic relationships of Harrington Harbour can meaningfully be understood by describing and analyzing them within the dialectical framework of the centre - periphery relationship.

Accordingly, we have distinguished two types of centres within which the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour has developed: pre-industrial mercantile centres and industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres.

Pre-industrial mercantile centres are centres in which there exists little or no primary or secondary industry, but where there are commercial over-classes transacting with

a peripheral region for profit. On the other hand, industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres are centres in which there exists little secondary industry (manufacturing), but in which primary industry, such as mining, is paramount. In these centres the industrial over-classes rule in conjunction with the commercial over-classes, and the commercial over-classes transact directly with a peripheral region.

In this chapter, we have thus made an attempt to define the framework of our community study in concrete terms. This framework should prove useful in understanding the situation in Harrington Harbour.

To test the validity of the metropolitan theory as it applies to our study, the thesis will be divided into two main sections.

The first section will aim at reconstructing and at describing the apparent "traditional" fishing mode of production. As will be shown, contrary to the dualistic economic model, the so-called traditional community of Harrington Harbour has always developed within a capitalist context. In fact, the modes of production within the community and their particular combination are a response to the capitalist needs of pre-industrial mercantile centres and their fish merchants.

This section, in other words, will deal with the problem of the origin and the identification of the modes of production within the fishing community of Harrington Harbour, and with their articulation to the dominant capitalist centres.

The second section, on the other hand, will attempt to describe and to analyze the intra-community socio-economic relations in Harrington Harbour which have developed under the industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre of Quebec City and its commodity merchants. Through this analysis, it will become clear that the changes in the periphery are the results of changes which have occurred in the capitalist centres of domination since 1950.

# CHAPTER III

## THE FISHING VILLAGE COMMUNITY

## I. INTRODUCTION

It is contended in this chapter that the social relations of production in the so-called traditional fishing community of Harrington Harbour have developed within the domination of pre-industrial mercantile centres. In other words, the modes of production contained within the fishing community of Harrington Harbour and their particular combination are a response to the capitalist needs of an over-class of urban fish merchants. The modes of production are not really traditional, but contain a capitalist content.

To test our hypothesis, we will reconstruct and identify the modes of production within the fishing community of Harrington Harbour, and will show their articulation to the pre-industrial mercantile centres.

The economic activities manifested within the peripheral fishing community of Harrington Harbour can be classified as market production and as subsistence production -- or as production for exchange-value and for use-value, respectively.

As the reconstruction of their respective labour processes and social relations of production will show, they correspond to two modes of production: a market mode

of production and a subsistence mode of production. These modes of production are hierarchically arranged within the peripheral community and are articulated to the dominant pre-industrial centres.

## II. THE MARKET MODE OF PRODUCTION

The sea is the main object of labour in market production. Among the many different resources of the sea available in the vicinity of Harrington Harbour, cod and seal are the most significant natural materials of labour. Therefore, to reveal the main characteristics of the market mode of production and its articulation to the pre-industrial mercantile centres, our attention can fruitfully be focussed on cod and seal production.

### 1. The labour processes in market production

#### a) The cod labour process

Cod production was performed in two phases. The first phase which generally began around June and ended by August 15, was cod-trap fishing. It was followed by the second phase, that is the making of dry cod fish. This phase generally ended in September or at the beginning of October,

depending on the quantity of the seasonal catch of fish.

The instruments of labour in cod-trap fishing were relatively complex. They consisted of several items. These were the domestic-made boats (motorized around 1930), the splitting table, barrels, water, salt, and permanent wooden structures such as stages, stores, and wharves. (*) But the most basic instruments of labour was the cod-trap.

The cod-trap is essentially a trap-net which has the shape of a box with a bottom net and a leader net attached perpendicular to it. The leader net guides the shoals of cod within the trap-net in which they become enclosed (see diagram no. 1).

The cod-trap is highly productive, but restricts fishing to the shoreline. The fishermen in Harrington Harbour were therefore compelled to select as objects of labour only specified portions of the sea. This explains why most berth places were localized primarily around the islands in the Harrington archipelagoes, especially the Harrington Islands. This is the area where cod migrate in abundance during the early part of the summer (see map no. 2).

(*) For a more detailed description of the instruments of labour in cod-trap fishing, see Breton, Yvan, La culture matérielle des Blanc-Sablonnais, Québec, Centre d'Etudes Nordiques, coll. travaux divers, no. 19, 1968.

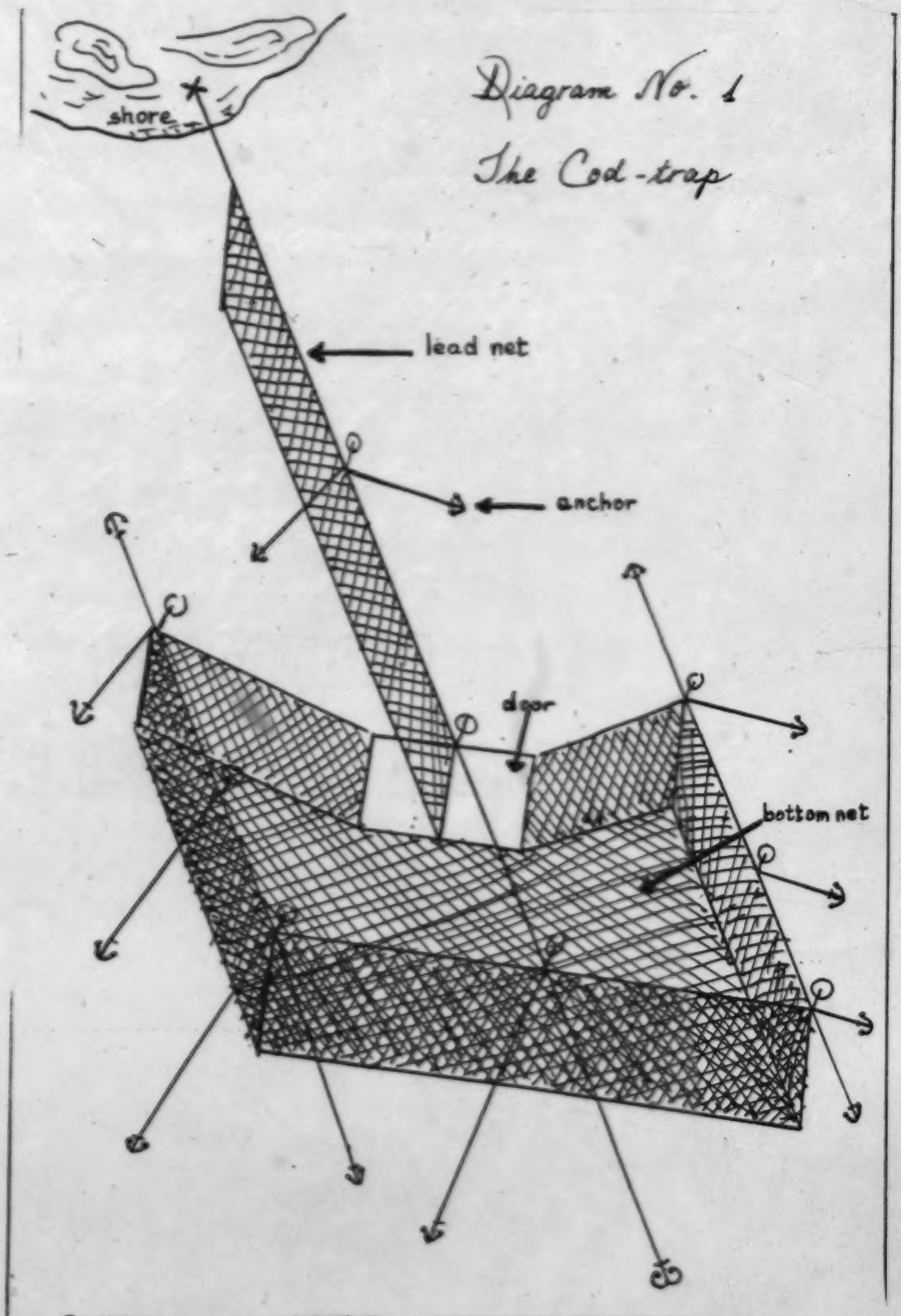


Diagram No. 1

The Cod-trap

On the other hand, the instruments of labour used in making dry cod fish were fewer and relatively less complex than in cod-trap fishing. They consisted of wheelbarrows, puncheons, water, and flat rocky surfaces or flakes. (*)

Flat rocky surface were preferred to flakes because they saved the fishermen the extra labour energy needed to construct them. Since fish could easily be spread on them to dry in the sun, flat rocky surfaces determined, to a certain degree, the localization of the various fishing establishments in Harrington Harbour. The islands of Harrington, where most of the fishing establishments are found, are characterized by an abundance of flat rocky surface.

As a consequence of the participation of women in the cod fishing economy, the cod labour process became associated with the traditional shift of the whole community from the mainland to the archipelagoes of Harrington. Although the cod labour process is essentially a male-dominated process, women were also needed to play the complementary roles. Thus, by moving with the men near the fishing grounds, the women could cook, wash, and keep house for them. The final phase of the cod labour process depended mostly on the

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(*) A flake is a wooden framework raised a short distance above the ground and covered with old nets.

women for its success. Because of their greater patience and delicate touch, they were generally better able to dry the cod fish according to the specifications of the market.

During the cod fishing season, several fishing crews were formed within the peripheral fishing village community. They were composed of four to six men recruited from the village community. The fishermen of each crew worked under the leadership of a crew skipper. All the men of the village community from the age of 14 to the age of retirement belonged to one of the crews for the whole fishing season. Thus the fishing crew was the main unit of production in the cod labour process. It provided the basic labour force for the production of cod in Harrington Harbour.

Cod-trap fishing was a complex activity involving a daily round of specific tasks. Every day except Sunday, the fishing crews would rise as early as two o'clock in the morning to go out to their fishing grounds where the cod-traps were set. There they pursed (*) the cod-traps and loaded the fish into their boats. Back at the village, each crew unloaded its catch of fish on the stage head (wharf) of the fishing establishment belonging to the skipper. This was done with a two-pronged fork.

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(*) A local term meaning to take out the fish from the cod trap.

After breakfast, which had been prepared by the women in the village community, the men returned to their respective stages (see diagram no. 2). Placing the morning catch on a cutting table in the stage, the crew would share the tasks of splitting, cleaning, salting, and storing the fish. (*) If there were plenty of fish, the men would return to their fishing grounds after dinner, around two o'clock in the afternoon, for another haul of fish. They would work late, until all their catch had been salted and stored.

The making of dry fish, on the other hand, consisted essentially of washing and drying the salted cod, stored up during the fishing season in the stage, to prepare it for the market. First, the salted cod were carried out on a wooden wheelbarrow (see diagram no. 3) to special puncheons filled with water. There they were washed and scrubbed to free the salt. Then they were desiccated and made ready for the market by being spread in the sun on flat rocky surfaces, or on flakes, for a week or so, depending on the weather.

The several tasks involved in making dry cod fish were shared by the fishing crew members, assisted by the skipper's wife and daughters.

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(*) For more details on these tasks see Junek, Oscar, Isolated Communities, American Book Company: 1937, pp. 27-35.

Diagram No. 2

A Fish Stage

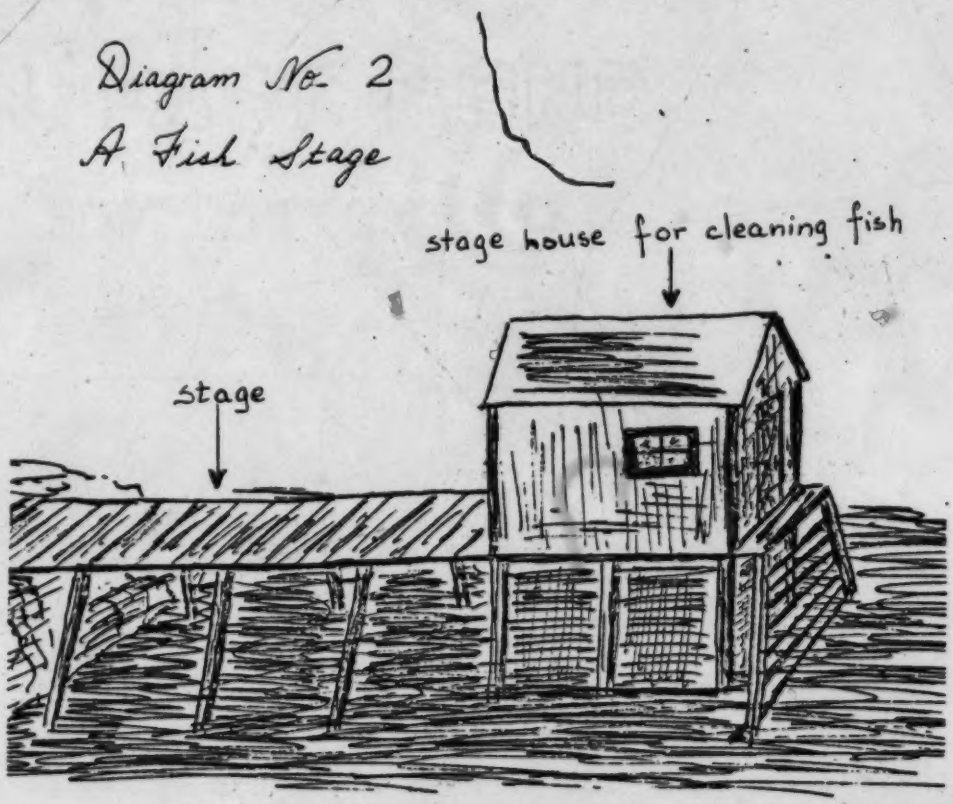
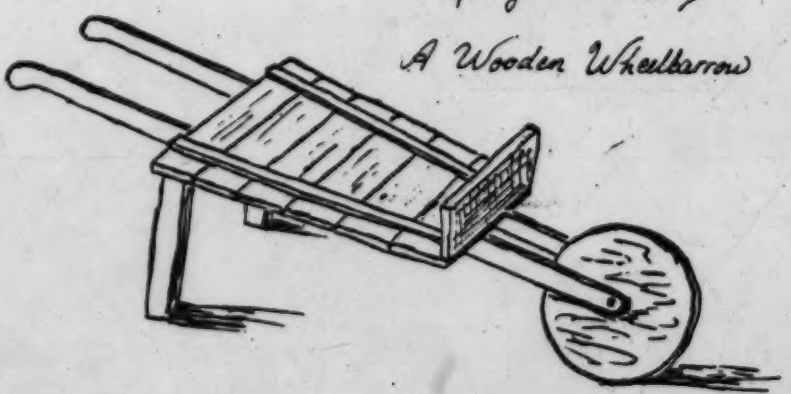



Diagram No. 3

A Wooden Wheelbarrow



b) The seal labour process

Seal production in Harrington Harbour was also an activity involving a complex set of tasks. Like cod production, it was divided into two dominant phases.

The primary phase of production was seal fishing which was carried out in the latter part of December and the beginning of January. The length of the seal fishing season was much more variable and generally much shorter than that of the cod fishing season. Three weeks were the average length of the seal-fishing season in Harrington Harbour.

The secondary phase of production was divided into two stages. These were the making of seal skins and the melting of seal fat. The former stage of production was performed anytime after the seal fishing season. The latter stage could only be performed when the weather was warm, the 20th of May.

Seal fishing like cod trap fishing, was an island activity. Because of the particular behavior pattern of the seal, certain specific areas of the sea near the islands had to be selected to catch them. In Harrington Harbour, these berth places were located mostly around the Harrington Islands -- as was the case for cod-trap fishing.

The instruments of labour in seal production were somewhat more elaborate than those used in cod production.

The cabin, the seal fishery boat, and the seal fishery were three important elements of the seal fishing technology. Because of the need for shelter during the cold winter season, the cabin on the camp sites near the seal fishing grounds was a characteristic part of the seal fishing technology. During the seal fishing season the seal fishermen were traditionally forced to live in isolation from the village community, located on the mainland during the winter months; the cabin was therefore also used as a kitchen and as cooking and sleeping quarters (see diagrams nos. 4 & 5).

The traditional fishery boat used in seal fishing was essentially a specialized row boat. It had three oars, two bow oars, and a blaine oar used to stabilize the boat. The oars were attached outside the boat so they could not rattle. It was believed that noise such as the rattle of oars could scare away the seals. On one side of the boat there were also two quills. These were used to hook the seal fishery twine when hauling the fishery (see diagram no. 6).

The basic instrument of labour in seal fishing was the seal fishery. This is essentially a complex maze of nets laid out under water in the pathway of the seal to trap them. The network has some superficial resemblance to a

Diagram No. 4

Seal Fishery Cabin

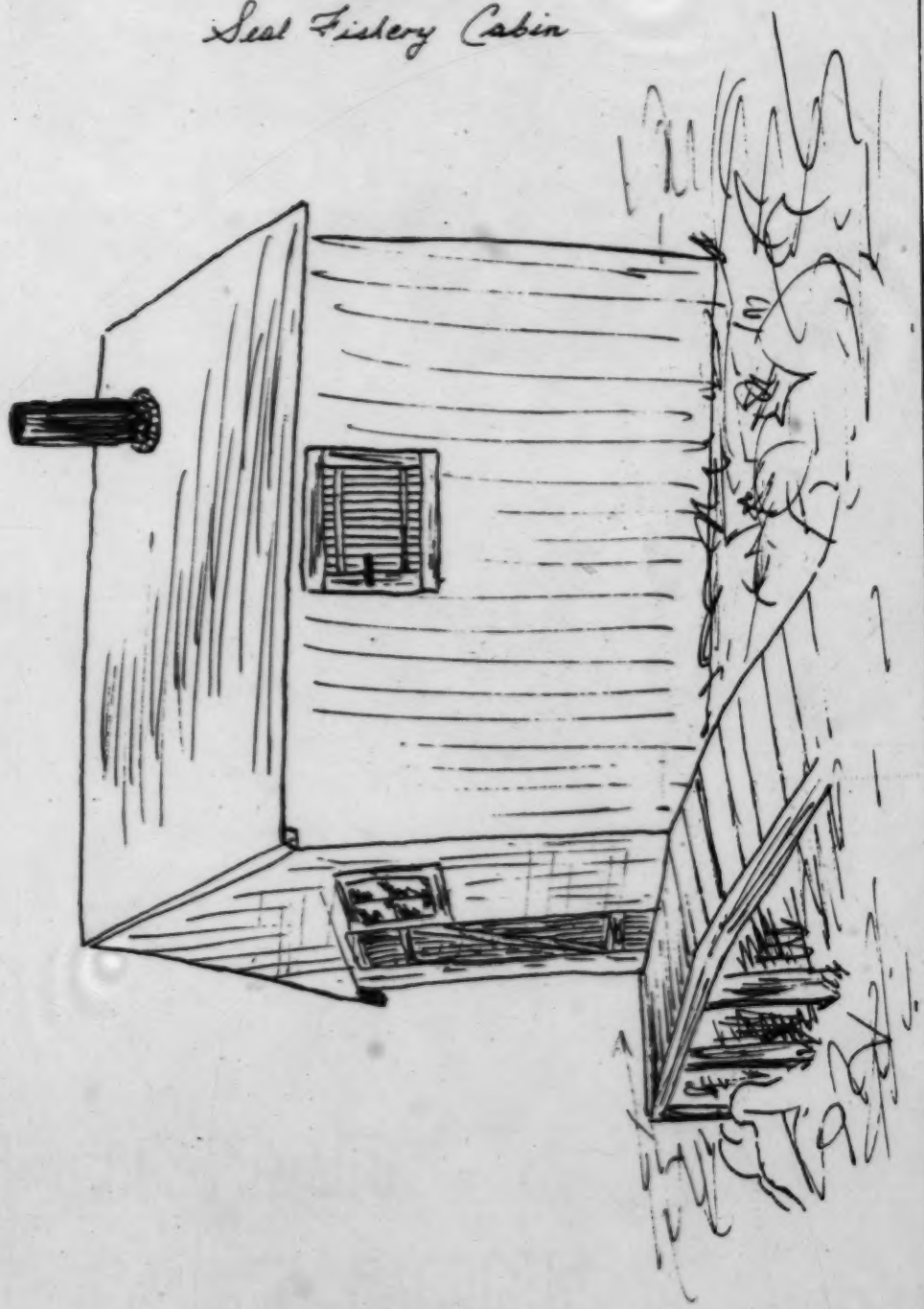
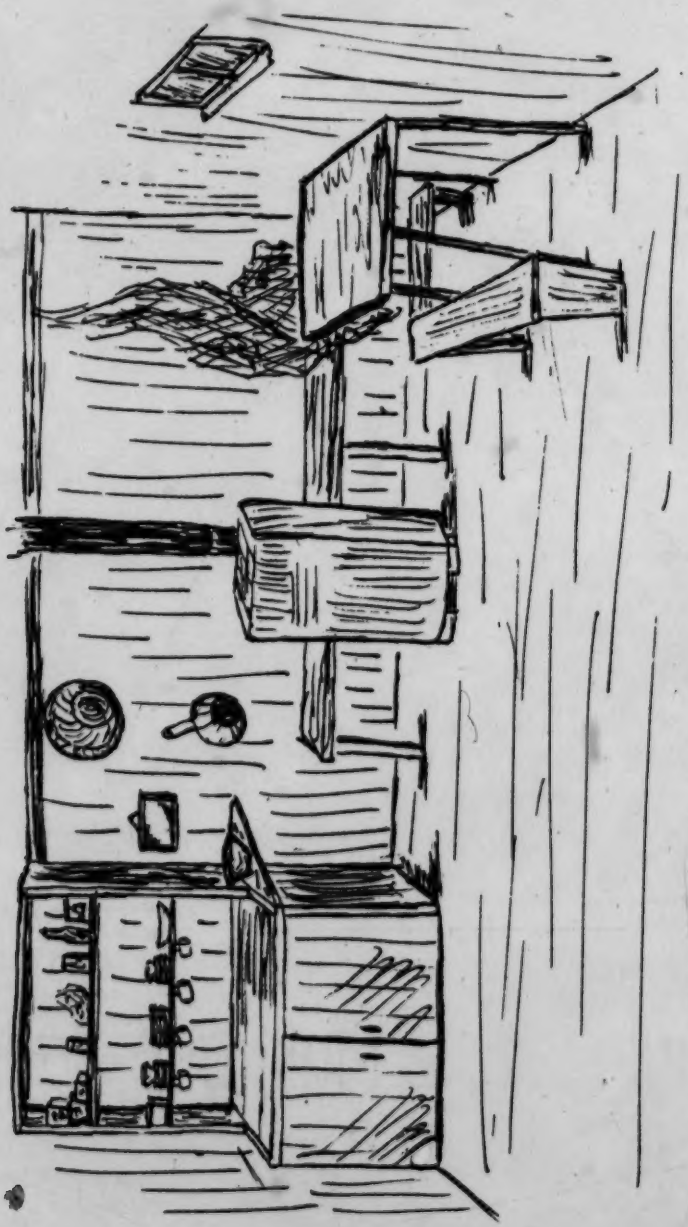


Diagram No. 5

Inside a Seal Fishery Cabin



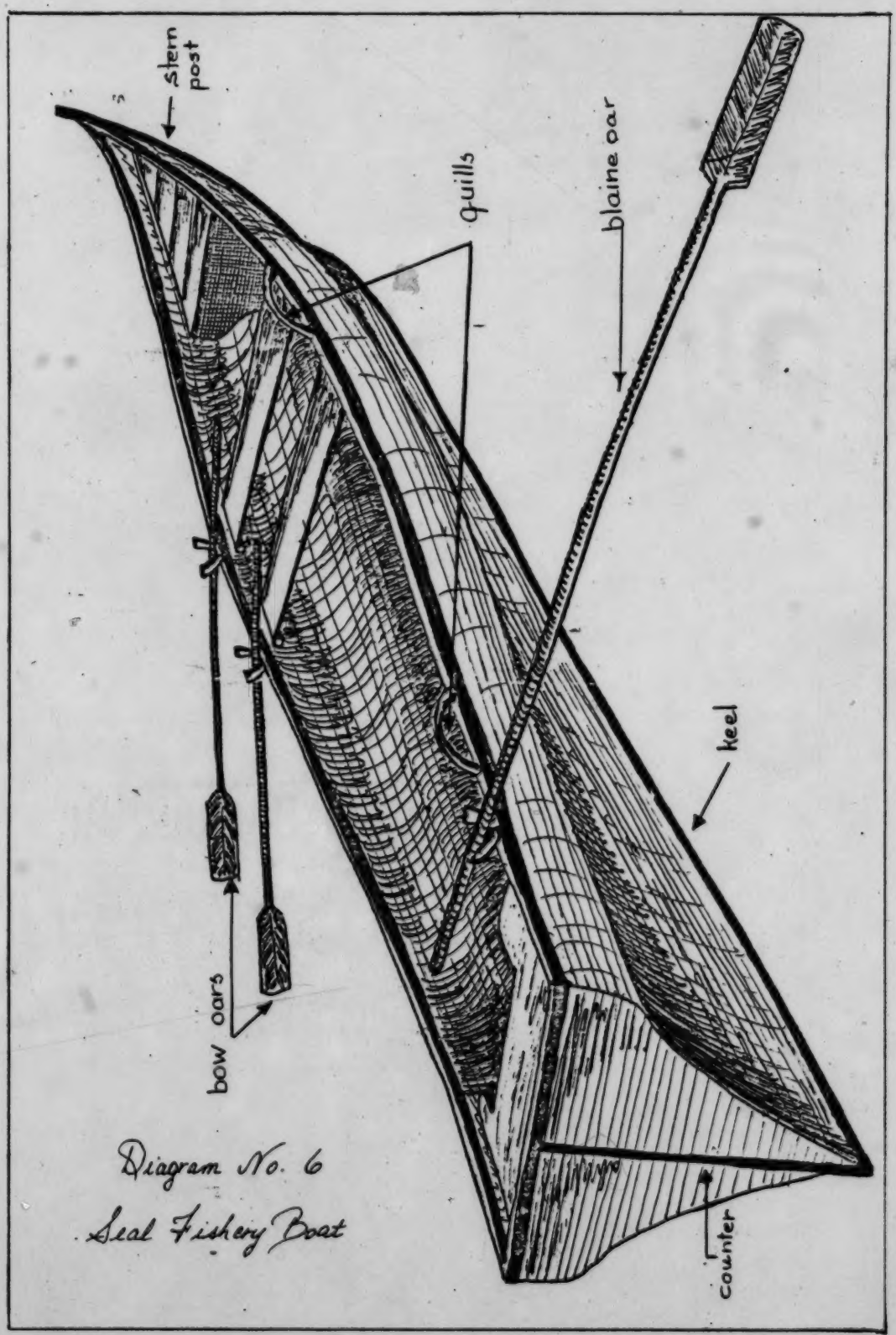



Diagram No. 6

Seal Fishery Boat

cod-trap. However, it has no bottom net. Moreover, the nets are placed six feet under water to protect them from the damage of floating ice. The seal fishery differs from the cod-trap mainly in its lack of standardization, as indicated by the complexity and variability of the three main fisheries in Harrington Harbour (see diagrams nos. 7, 8, and 9) (*).

The seal foundry used in melting seal fat into oil was another important part of the technology of seal production. It consisted mainly of a large metal pot, a vat, a press, and a fireplace (see diagram no. 10). The foundry was normally located on the camp site near the fishing grounds. This was where the seal fat had been stored up from the previous seal fishing season.

The seal labour process was essentially a male-dominated process, more so than the cod labour process. In fact, by tradition women were forbidden to participate in any phase of the process. As in cod production, the basic unit of production was the fishing crew. Moreover, they were about the same size as those in cod production. Four

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(*) For a detailed study of the seal fishing technology, see Beaucage, Pierre, "Technologie de la pêche au loup-marin sur la Côte-nord du Saint-Laurent", L'Homme, Vol. VIII, cahier 3, 1968, pp. 96-125.

# Diagram No. 7

## Square Seal Fishery

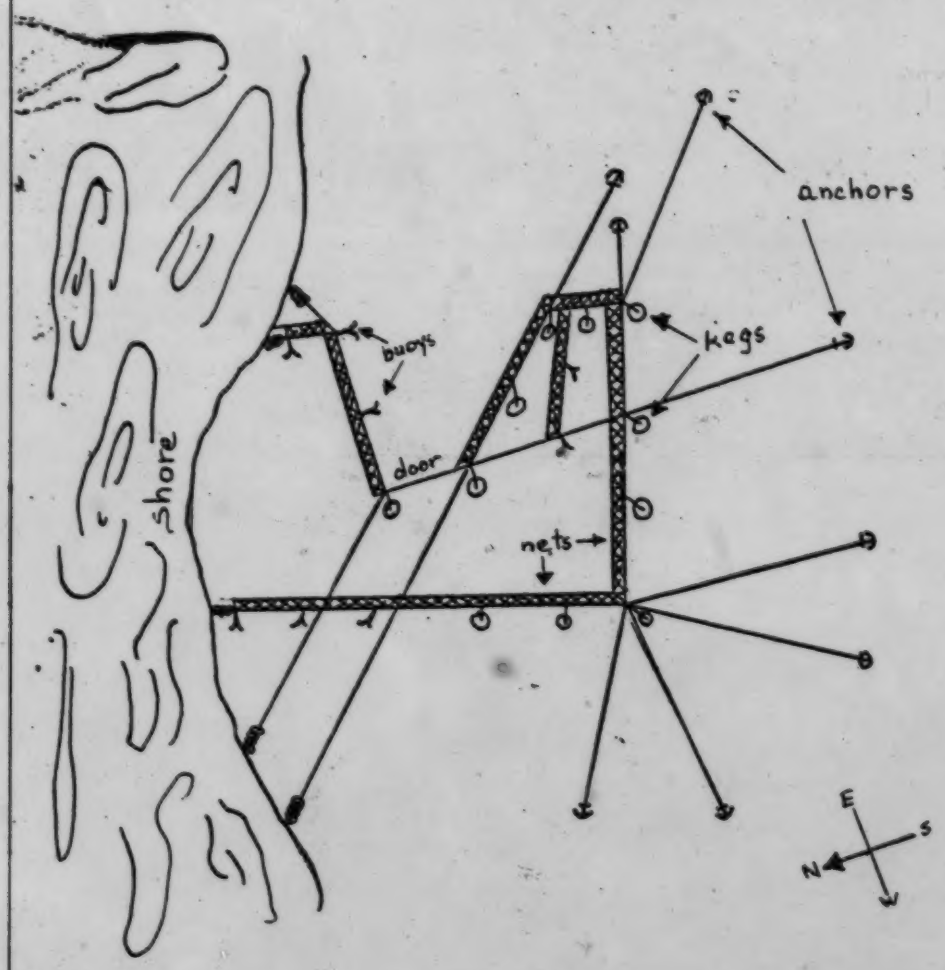
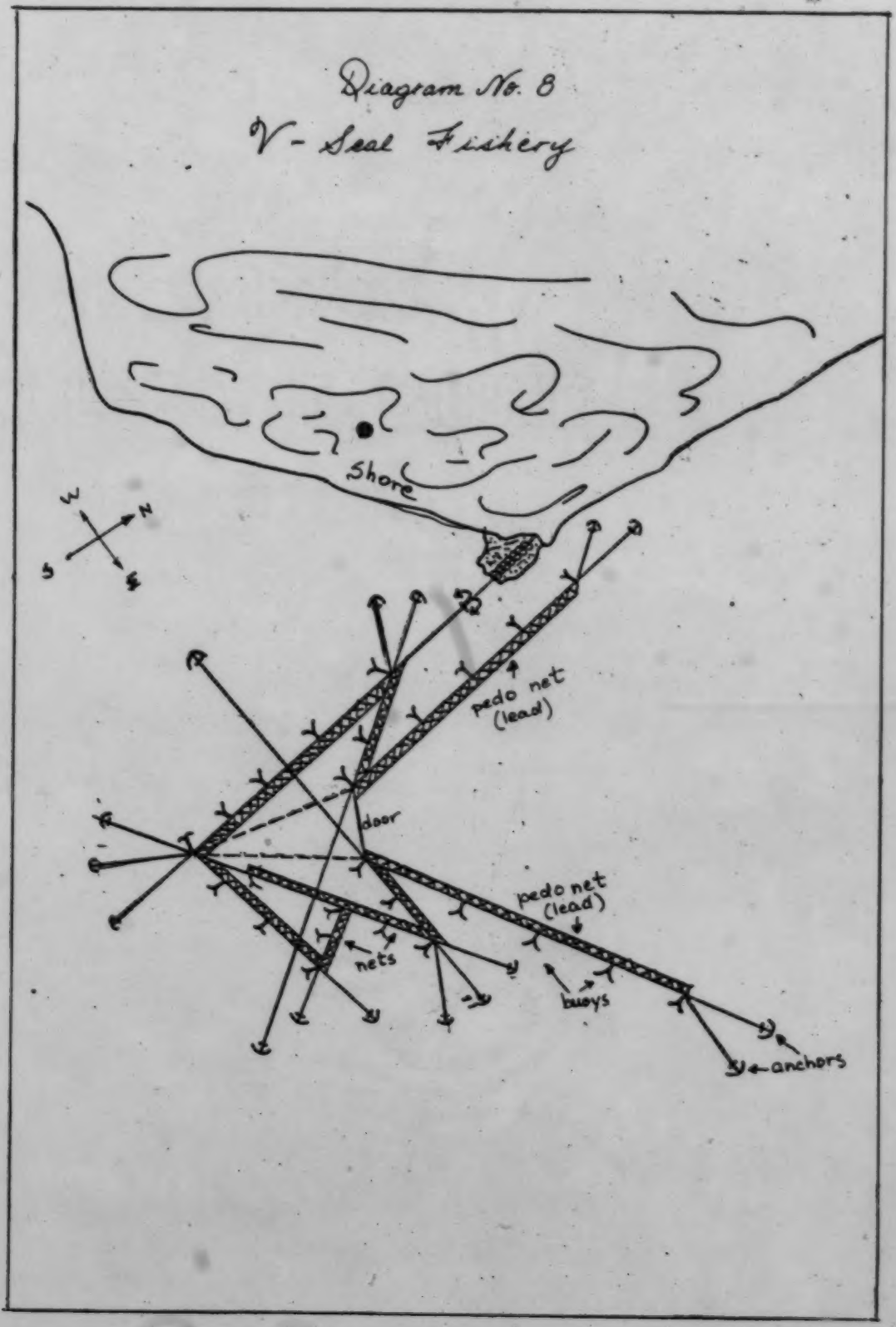


Diagram No. 8

V - Seal Fishery



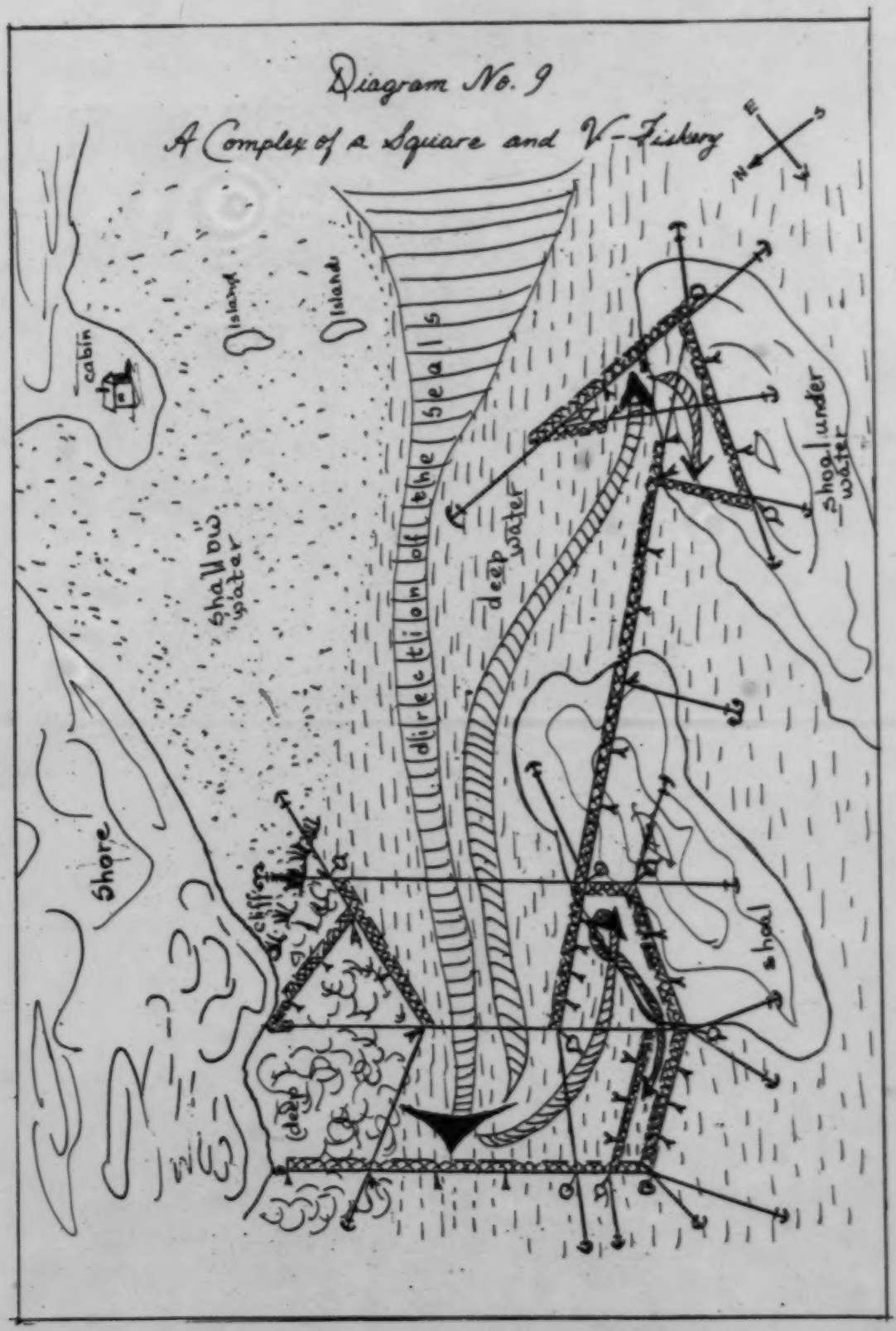
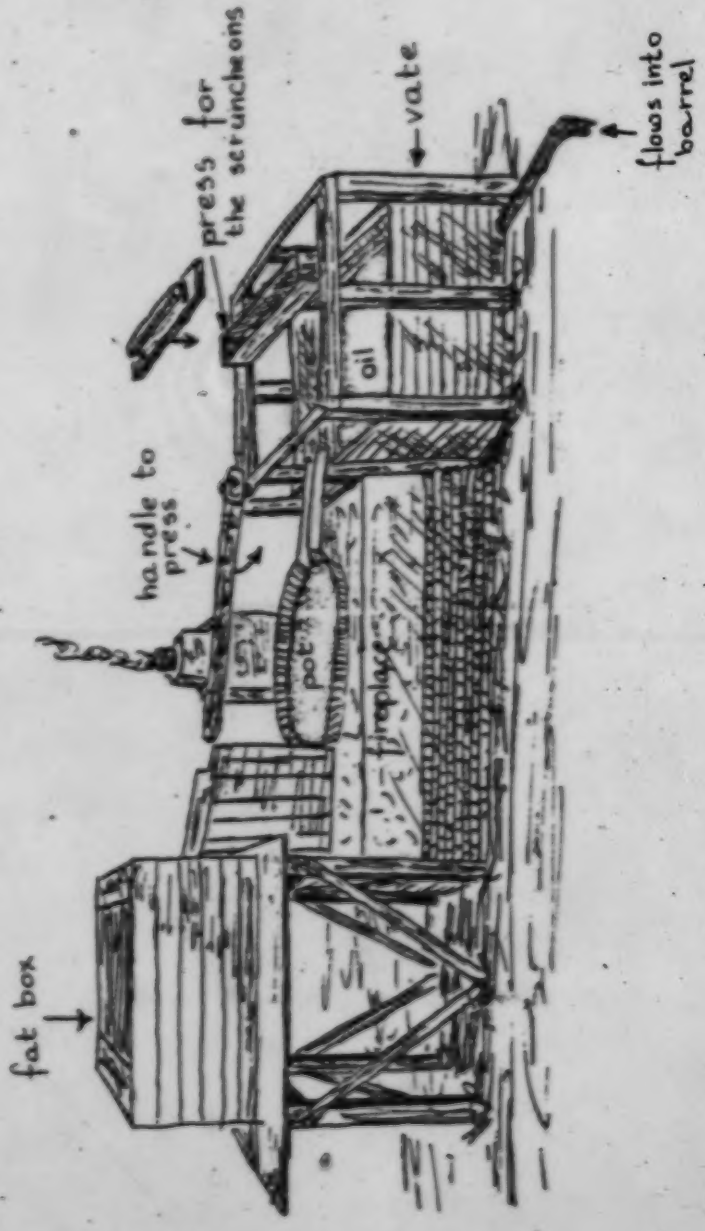


Diagram No. 9
A Complex of a Square and V-Fishery
N
E
S
W
cabin
Islands
Islands
shallow water
direction of the seals
deep water
shoal under water
Shore
cliffs
deep
shoal

Diagram No. 10
Seal Foundry



to six men worked on a given fishing crew through the whole season. One of them was the crew skipper who was assigned the leadership role in the labour process and owned certain instruments of labour. But, although all the men worked in cod production, only part of the total male population of the peripheral village community of Harrington Harbour could participate in the seal labour process. There were only a restricted number of seal fisheries in operation at one time in the fishing village economy, not enough to account for demographic growth. This was due to the fact there were only a limited number of good seal fishing berths available in Harrington Harbour. Thus, the seal fishing crews were normally composed only of older men. Boys under the age of 21 were generally excluded.

The several tasks in seal production were shared by the crew members.

During the first phase of seal production, an average day of seal fishing involved several specialized tasks which were performed by the skipper and the other crew members. These tasks included watching for seal, shooting to scare the seal into the fishery, hauling the seal fishery nets, piling the round seal into the fishery boat, hauling the seal to the camp site, and finally storing them round, by putting them into the snow to freeze. Chores such as

tending the fire, cooking, washing the dishes, and cleaning the cabin were assigned on a weekly basis to one member of the seal fishing crew. Only the skipper was excluded from these chores.

There were two specialized tasks involved before the second phase of seal production could be undertaken. These tasks, sculping and skinning the round seals, could be performed either during the seal fishing season or after the season ended.

Sculping was a task performed with a sharp-bladed knife approximately 12 inches long. Deep cuts were made into the skin and the layer of fat in the following manner. First a cut was made around the head, the flippers and the scutters. Then cuts were made from the head to the scutters on the belly (see diagram no. 11).

Skinning was done with the same knife. This process consisted of separating the skin and the fat from the carcass (see diagram no. 12). Once skinning had been performed by pulling the seal skin with the fat, only the flippers stayed with the carcass.

The fat and the skin were the only parts of the seal which were preserved for the market. The carcasses were used for dog meat.

Diagram No. 11
Sculping of a Seal

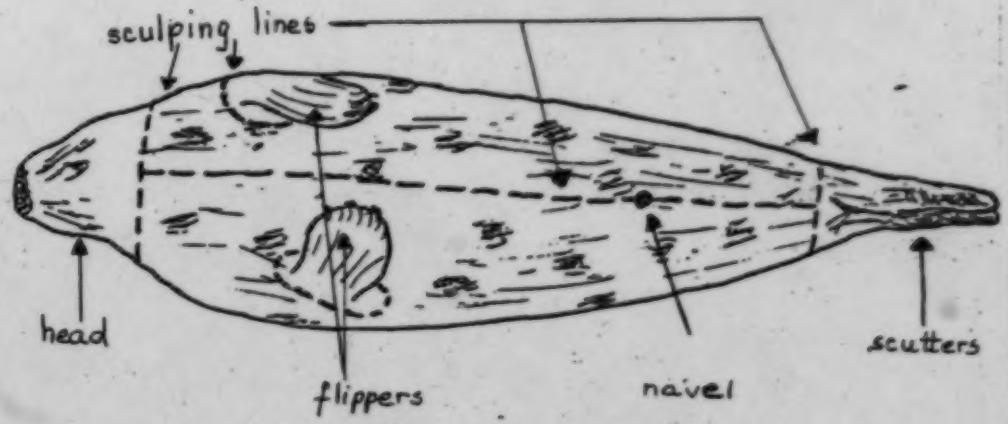



Diagram No. 12
Skinning of a Seal

The frozen fat and the skins could be stored in a nearby shed until the warmer weather. However, many were often made up before. This was normally done by first framing up the skin, then scraping the fat off the skin (see diagram no. 13) and frost drying it.

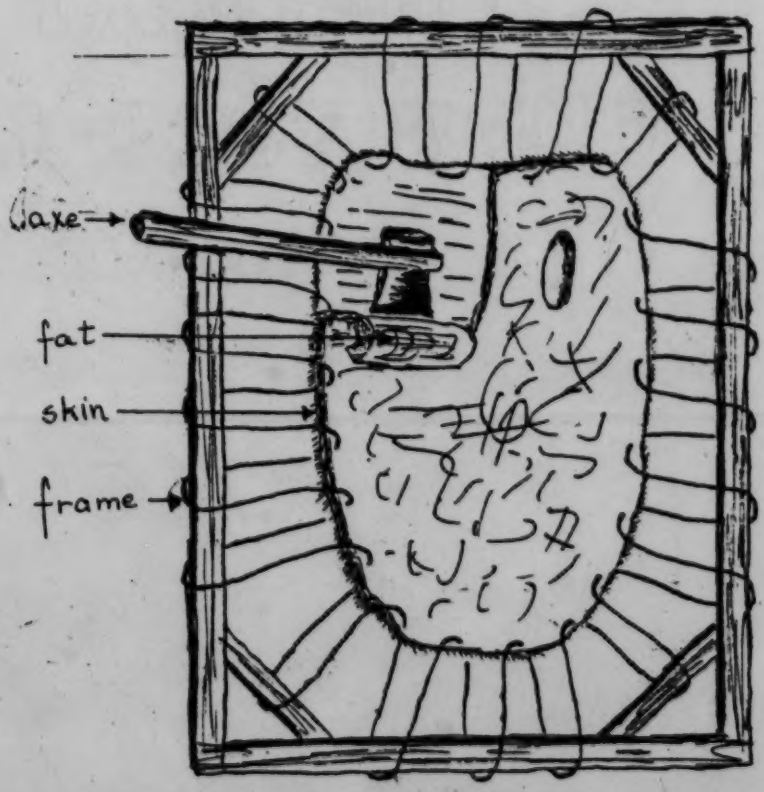
In the framing process, small holes were made around the edges of the skin to tie it on to the wooden frame. These frames were made to fit the size of the skins. Then the framed skin was left outside to freeze hard. Later the fat was completely scraped off the velum of the skin with the sharp edge of an axe. Finally, the framed skin was put either outside on the roof of a building or on a horse for about a month and a half. This process, called <u>frost drying</u>, made a dead skin that would never shrink.

The last stage of the secondary phase in seal production -- that is, melting the seal fat -- also involved a complex set of tasks. These tasks were shared by the crew members in the following manner.

One crew member was assigned to the fireplace. His role was to feed the fireplace with firewood. Juniper was generally used for the purpose. A second crew member was assigned to the cutting table. His role was to cut up the seal fat into four small pieces which he threw into a fat

Diagram No. 13

Making a Seal Skin



box. A third crew member was assigned to the fat box. His role was to fill the pot with seal fat. He did this as the the fat melted in the pot above the fireplace and flowed in the vat.

The scruncheons or unmelted fat formed at the surface of the boiling oil were taken out with a dip net by a fourth crew member. He put them into the press over the vat and squeezed all the oil in them, then threw them into the fireplace.

The operation of the foundry depended on firewood which had to be hauled from the mainland. The island area, as will be recalled, is generally lacking in forest growth. It was the crew members who hauled the necessary firewood from the mainland. Their participation in the fishing crew obligated them to the skipper. By traditional consensus, they were expected to bring 20 kometic (*) loads of wood from the mainland for the seal fishing season. In exchange for seal carcasses as meat for their dogs, other members of the village community could also contribute wood, or could sculp and skin seals for the skipper.

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(*) A domestic sled 7 to 9 feet long.

## 2. The social relations of production in market production.

To reveal the social relations of production under whose determination the cod and seal processes are executed, the 1920's are chosen as a reference point in time. This is the period when the fishing village economy of Harrington Harbour reached its peak level of production.

The result of an historical survey based on interviews with an extensive number of local fishermen shows that in the 1920's, thirty-two cod-traps and a half-dozen seal fisheries were in circulation within the village community of Harrington Harbour. These correspond to the take-over of an equivalent number of cod and seal berth places in the Harrington archipelagoes.

By correlating the size of the population around 1920 (see table no. 3) with the number of cod-traps and seal fisheries in circulation during the period, it can be concluded that technological growth, at least in cod production, had been able to keep pace with population growth in Harrington Harbour. In fact, up until the 1920's, there were enough cod-traps to permit the full economic participation of all the active male members in the village cod process. However, because of ecological reasons, seal fisheries had been limited even before the 1920's in such a way that only

part of the male labour force was able to participate in seal production.

During the 1920's, cod and seal were more plentiful, and in cod fishing each crew could fish with an average of two cod-traps. To be sure, in the 1920's there was more production to share per capita than in subsequent periods.

In facts, after the 1920's, technological growth stopped not only in seal fishing but also in cod fishing. Very few additional cod-traps were acquired by the villagers. The older ones were only repaired and reused over the generations while the population continued to grow. Moreover, the fish and seal resources of the Gulf of St.Lawrence were beginning to become depleted.

TABLE 3. -Demographic evolution of Harrington Harbour

| | MEN | WOMEN | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1875 | 15 | 7 | 22 |
| 1900 | 62 | 49 | 111 |
| 1925 | 139 | 112 | 251 |
| 1950 | 210 | 189 | 399 |
| 1969 | 317 | 249 | 566 |

(SOURCE: author's survey 1969)

In the community of Harrington Harbour during the 1920's, there were two classes of fishermen: the skippers and the sharemen. Only about 20 per cent of the fishermen were skippers, the remainder were sharemen.

The skippers were fishermen who acquired the private ownership of the means of production in cod and seal production, both through patronage ties with merchants and by inheritance: that is, they are the owners of the fishing establishments in the village community. They also acquired legal property rights to the best fishing berths in Harrington Harbour by traditional pre-emption. They also normally played the leadership roles in the village fishing crews.

The sharemen, on the other hand, were fishermen who owned no fishing establishments, and who had no property rights to seal or cod berths in the water of Harrington Harbour. They formed the bulk of the population from which the skippers recruited their fishing crews.

The statuses of skipper and sharemen in the fishing community of Harrington Harbour were social relations of production of a class nature. The village community of Harrington Harbour was divided into an upper and a lower under-class of fishermen. The upper under-class fishermen who formed the nucleus of the community were the skippers.

The lower under-class fishermen at the base of the community were the sharemen.

In this section, therefore, we shall examine this social under-class system. To reveal its main characteristics, we will describe the rules of the division of the catch between the skippers and the sharemen, the inheritance system, and the principles whereby the fishing crews are formed. Finally, we will show that personal and kinship ties were reinforced by the upper over-class merchants who created the internal under-class system. In this way, both the articulation of the market mode of production to the pre-industrial mercantile centres and the consequence of the domination of the fish merchant over-class on the relations of production in the fishing community of Harrington Harbour, will become better understood.

a) <u>The division of the catch</u>

A fishing crew's seasonal catch of cod and seal was divided by tradition among the skipper and his sharemen in a specified manner according to formal share systems.There were two such systems. The first was the "half your hand," and the second was the "full" share system. Both of these share systems were in use for cod production, but only the "half your hand" was used for seal production.

In the "half your hand" share system the catch of

a fishing crew was divided into two equal parts. One part (1/2) was allocated to capital and for the expenses of operation. It went to the skippers. The other part (1/2) was distributed to labour, and was divided in equal shares among all the fishermen in a fishing crew, including the skipper.

On the other hand, in the "full" share system the catch of a fishing crew was not divided into two equal parts, one for capital, the other for labour. Instead production was divided into a number of shares equivalent to the number of fishermen in a fishing crew, plus one share (the fishermen include the sharemen and skipper). The extra share went for capital and the expenses of operation: thus to the skipper. The other shares were distributed equally to labour.

In the "half your hand" share system, the skipper obtained more than half of the total catch of cod or seal in a fishing crew. For instance, in a fishing crew composed of four fishermen (including the skipper), the skipper obtained 5/8 of the production. The sharemen, on the other hand, obtained only 1/8 of the catch each.

It must be noted that the formal inequality of this system of distribution was not as pronounced as it seems. In fact, inequality was tempered by the special obligations of the skippers toward their sharemen. In the "half your hand" share system, they were obliged to provide room and

board to the sharemen. Thus, especially in cod fishing, this system required more cooperation from the skipper's wife and daughters to perform the extra duties. Sometimes he had to hire servant girls to help perform them.

In the "full" share system, the skipper also obtained more of the production of the fishing crew than his sharemen. However, his share was subtantially less than in the "half your hand" share system. For instance, in a crew of four fishermen (including himself), he obtained 2/5 of the production of the fishing crew while the sharemen obtained 1/5 of the catch each.

There are other aspects of the system of the division of the catch which reflected class differentiation between the skipper and the sharemen. For instance, in cod production the skipper was entitled to all the cod liver oil produced, and in seal production the whitecoats -- that is, the unborn seal -- were his exclusive property.

b) Inheritance

Initially, there were seventeen fishermen who, before the 1920's, acquired from merchants by patronage the thirty two cod-traps in circulation within the fishing village community. Some of these fishermen also acquired the existing seal fisheries.

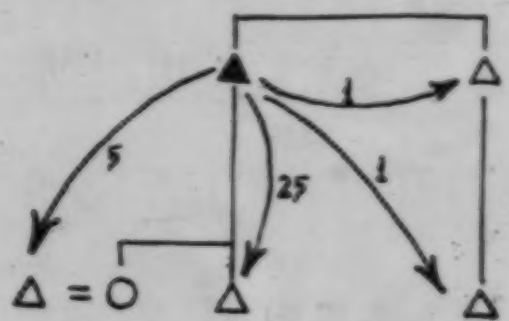
As the transmission of these cod-traps from the initial owners to the succeeding generation indicates (see diagram no. 14), they were transmitted 84 per cent of the time patrilineally, mostly from father to son (77 per cent of the cases). Depending on the number of cod-traps owned by the father, they were generally divided among several sons, each of whom created an independant fishing establishment. However, except for the cod-traps, the original fishing establishments (house, stage etc.) were generally inherited only by the youngest son.

The seal fisheries also tended to be transmitted patrilineally from father to son -- sometimes to more than one son at a time (see diagram no. 15). But, the initial property unlike that of the cod fishing industry, was not subdivided, and new seal fishing establishments were not created by each inheriting son. Rather, the original seal fishing establishment and the seal fishery became jointly owned by two or more brothers. Production normally allocated to capital and the expenses of operation were shared on an equal basis by the co-owners.

Clearly, the transmission of the fishing establishments in Harrington Harbour follow a patrilineal rule of inheritance.

## Diagram No. 14

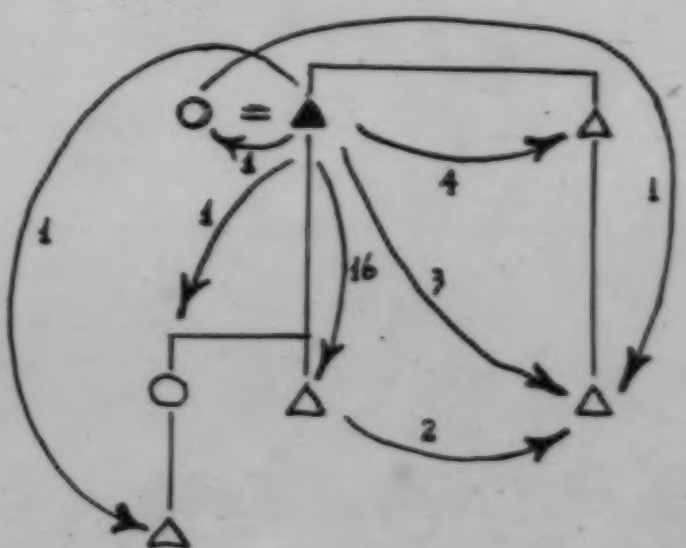
Frequency of Kinship Ties in the Transmission of Cod-traps




Fa → So = 25
Fa → DaHu = 5
Br → Br = 1
Br → BrSo = 1

## Diagram No. 15

Frequency of Kinship Ties in the Transmission of Seal Fisheries




Fa → So = 16
Br → Br = 4
Br → BrSo = 3
FaSo → FaBrSo = 2
Hu → Wi = 1
Wi → HuBrSo = 1
Fa → Da = 1
Fa → FaDaSo = 1

c) The recruitment of the fishing crews

Since the sons of skippers (owners) were liable to inherit a fishing establishment, a cod-trap, or part of a seal fishery, they were usually integrated within their father's crew to help and to learn. In fact, 37 per cent of the members of the cod fishing crews and 17 per cent of the members of the seal fishing crews were skippers' sons (see table no. 4). Unlike the other sharemen (non-sons), they were not entitled to a shareman's share until the age of twenty-one. In fact, they were not really sharemen in the full sense of the word. A shareman is also a preperty-less fisherman who is part of a fishing crew as the result of a formal contract between the skipper and himself. Unlike the sons, the sharemen were recruited on a non-kinship basis by the skippers. Although kinship ties are frequent between the skippers and the sharemen (non-sons) they are too diversified to be used as a principle to explain the composition of the fishing crews. These ties include more affinal ties than patrilineal ties; moreover, fishermen without any kinship ties with the skippers are also part of the fishing crews ( see table no. 4). The kin ties were the accidental results of having to form fishing crews with members of a community in terms of a bilateral kinship system.

To form their fishing crews, every season the skippers in Harrington Harbour initiated interaction with the

TABLE 4. - Fishing crew kinship and non-kinship ties in relation to skippers.

| | | Seal fishing crews | Cod fishing crews |
|---|---|---|---|
| Skipper | | 28 | 45 |
| Patrilineal | So | 20 | 52 |
| | Br | 22 | 8 |
| | BrSo | 6 | 6 |
| | Fa | 1 | - |
| | FaBr | - | 1 |
| | FaBrSo | 4 | 1 |
| | Total | 53 | 68 |
| Affinal | DaHu | 2 | 9 |
| | DaSo | 1 | 3 |
| | SiSo | 3 | 7 |
| | WiBr | 3 | 3 |
| | WiBrSo | 3 | 1 |
| | Other | 57 | 21 |
| | Total | 69 | 44 |
| Stranger | | - | 25 |
| Grand Total | | 122 | 137 |

lower under-class fishermen at the base of the community. As indicated by the presence of the same sharemen within the same fishing crew for long periods of time, the formal ties between the skipper and the shareman sometimes did develop into a more lasting social bond. This bond can be characterized as a patron-client relationship and suggests that some of the relationships between the upper under-class and the lower under-class fishermen in Harrington Harbour were structured according to the asymmetrical dyadic contract (Foster 1963).

The dyadic contract is a model proposed by Foster (1961) to explain "how the Tzuntzuntzenō incurs and maintains the obligations that are essential to his defense". Foster (1963: 1230) has observed that in Tzintzuntzan "adults enter contractual relationships of a special type with a wide variety of classes of people (or begins): fellow villagers, friends of comparable socio-economic status from other communities, individuals of superior power and influence, and supernatural beings". These ties Foster (1963: 1281) called dyadic because they normally bind pairs of contractants, rather than groups.

Depending on the relative position of the partners, and on the kinds of things they exchange, Foster (1963: 1281) has distinguished two basic types of dyadic contract: colleague contracts and patron-client contracts.

Colleague contract "tie people of equal or approximately equal socio-economic status, who exchange the same kind of goods and services. Colleague contracts are phrased horizontally, and they can be thought of as symmetrical, since, each partner, in position and obligations, mirrors the other" (Foster 1963:1281).

The patron-client contracts, on the other hand, "tie people (or people to things) of significantly different socio-economic status ( or order of power), who exchange different kinds of goods and services. Patron-client contracts are phrased vertically, and they can be thought of as asymmetrical since each partner is quite different from the other in position and obligations (Foster 1963: 1281)".

In both contracts the partners' recognition of mutual obligations underlies and validates the systems. There is no attempt to strike a balance, since this would cancel the contract. Thus, patron-client relationships, especially the ones involving human beings, are like colleague contracts in that goods and services are exchanged over time.

In Harrington Harbour, patron-client relationships similar to those described by Foster were bound to develop between both classes of fishermen.

Being upper under-class fishermen, the skippers were in a position to exert patronage over the sharemen who were the lower under-class fishermen. They had the control over the main local and non-local resources upon which community participation within the nation depended. They were in the full sense of the term mediators (Silverman 1965). They fulfilled the two criteria which limits the extention of this concept: critical functions and exclusivity. In fact, only by entering into a formal contract with a skipper could the lower under-class fishermen in Harrington Harbour hope to obtain from the over-class of urban merchants the necessary credit for the winter supply upon which part of the sustenance of their families depended. Continous indebtedness to the skippers and the merchants was a way of life for survival.

d) Kinship and the internal under-class system

The over-class of urban fish merchants and the upper under-class fishermen who were the skippers, were also tied into a patron-client relationship. The development of patronage in market exchange was a current state of affairs in the early stage of the formation of Harrington Harbour. It gave security to both partners and, in a situation of quasi-monopoly, bonded the skippers by loyalty to a particular merchant, for an indefinite period of time.

However, the nature of the relationship differed in certain respects from the patron-client relationship described by Foster (1963). Instead of being a dyadic contract between two partners, it was more a contract between a patron-merchant and the whole immediate family of a skipper. This particular form of patronage, let it be noted, had the opportunity to evolve since, during their journey on the coast, the itinerant merchants were often dependant on the home hospitality of the skipper. Thus, they came to know personally not only the skipper but also the members of his family.

It was the patron-merchants who effectively controlled the circulation of the basic means of production in the fishing village community. The thirty-two cod-traps and the half dozen seal fisheries in circulation in Harrington Harbour after the 1920's were obtained by the upper under-class fishermen from a patron-merchant.

These fishermen belonged mostly to the families of the early Newfoundland settlers. Thus, the cod and seal fishing establishments in Harrington Harbour tended to become concentrated in the hands of a few fishermen, who were also among the members of the oldest families in the village.

A functional organized village fishing economy

was needed to maximize economic surplus and increase the profits of the over-class of urban fish merchants. This village organization could be created only by exercising special control over the circulation of the means of production. An imbalance in the village labour force and the means of production would tend to reduce the fish merchant's profit. Therefore, the merchant would tend to keep the labour force in balance with the means of production. This required a special control over the number of cod-traps and fisheries he made available to the villagers. As the population grew, the merchant had to limit access of the fishing property proportionately to this growth. In other words, the fishing property had to be restricted to a few fishermen; the number of propertied fishermen would have to grow proportianately to the growth of a propertyless class of fishermen (sharemen). The over-class of fish merchants obtained this result in Harrington Harbour by reinforcing personal and kinship ties within the community.

In fact, property in Harrington Harbour is transmitted patrilineally. By establishing patron-client relationships with particular families and restricting access of the means of production to them, the merchant-patrons only reinforced the domination of certain family lines over others, and as a consequence divided the village community into an internal under-class system favorable to their capitalist expansion.

## III. THE SUBSISTENCE MODE OF PRODUCTION

The main characteristics within the subsistence mode of production will be singled out and contrasted with those in the market mode of production. Thus, a better understanding will be provided of the combination of the modes of production contained within the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour and their articulation to the pre-industrial mercantile centres.

### 1. The labour processes in subsistence production

The characteristic trait which distinguished the subsistence activities from market activities in Harrington Harbour was this: production was not for the market but for the reproduction of the material conditions of life in the fishing community of Harrington Harbour by the exploitation of the local resources.

The object and the material of labour in subsistence production constrasted sharply with those in market production. Instead of the sea and its resources, the land and its resources were the object of the material of labour. A consequence of this difference was an actual opposition in the localization of the activities in both productions. The subsistence activities were generally performed on the mainland and the market activities within the Harrington

archipelagoes.

Generally speaking, most of the activities other than fishing were subsistence activities in Harrington Harbour. They were numerous. The main ones were building, woodcutting, gathering, and hunting. These activities were performed at a time of the year when activities in market production had ceased, especially during the fall and winter. Thus, both subsistence production and market production were opposed in terms of habitat and in terms of the time of the year.

a) Woodcutting

Woodcutting was an essential subsistence activity which was generally carried out by the lower under-class fishermen after the seal fishing season, at the end of January or in early February. It provided the necessary firewood for heating, and the lumber for the various building projects within the community. Woodcutting was performed for domestic use as well as for the reproduction of some of the instruments of labour in market activities, i.e., the seal foundry.

The buck-saw and the axe were the main instruments of labour in use within the woodcutting labour process. These were tied to the lashes of a dog-drawn kometic (see

diagram no. 16) along with a grub box, dog food, and snow rackets.

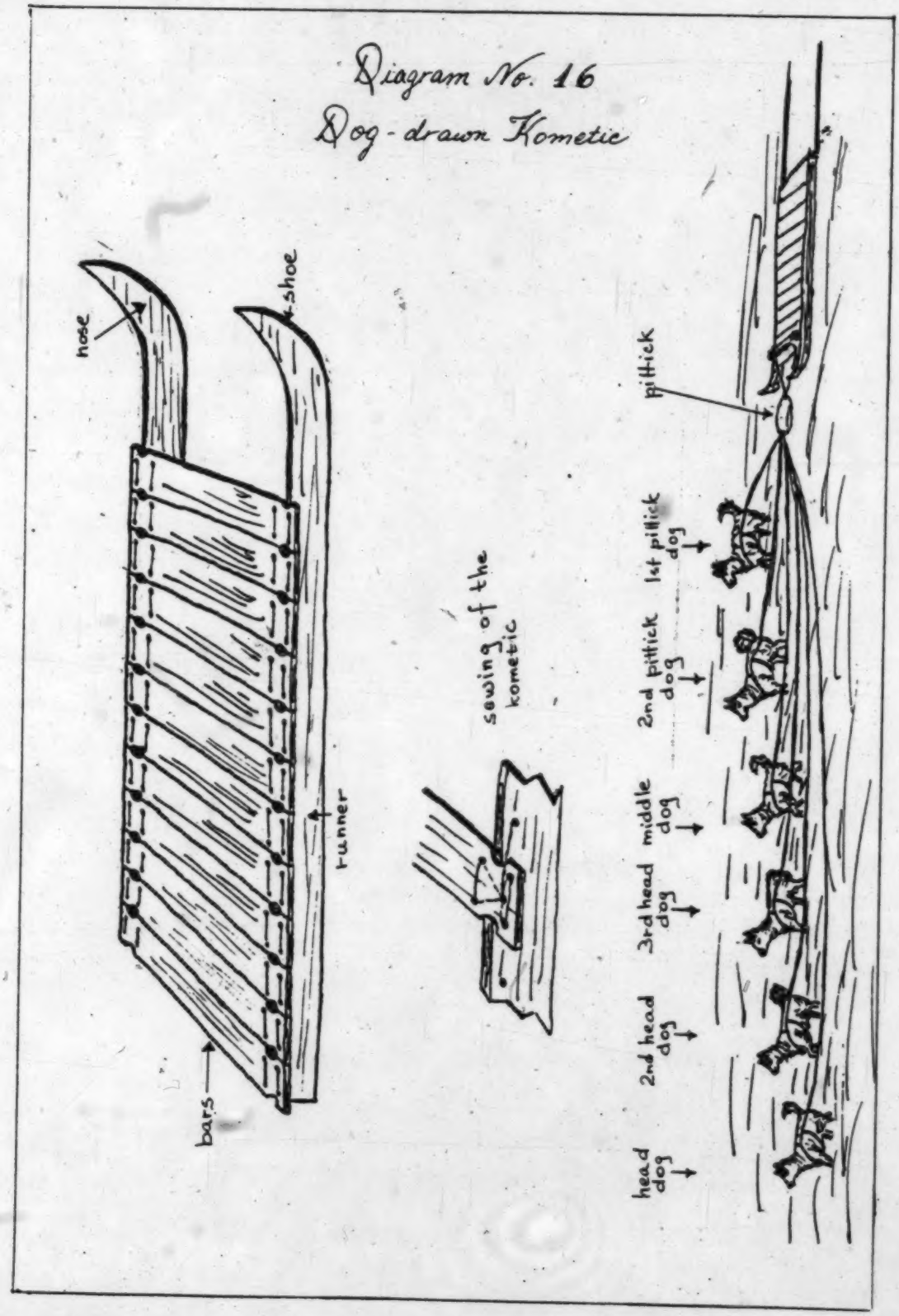
Depending on their particular circumstances, woodcutters spent from one to three weeks in the forested area of the mainland. One week was generally spent by all the woodcutters of the village to cut firewood for their families and those of the seal skippers. Others went home for the following two weeks, while others stayed to cut "sticks" for lumber.

The work groups were composed of men. Woodcutting was strictly a male-dominated labour process. Each work group was generally made up of two men. The dyads within the work group were generally members of the same household, mostly a father and one of his sons.

Even if the dyadic work group produced mostly for the immediate needs of the household, work was not done in isolation. The groups worked side by side and shared the same forest territories. There was also a lot of sharing going on between the woodcutters based on the symmetrical dyadic contract (Foster 1961). For instance, the mainland woodcutters shared their houses with the island woodcutters during the woodcutting season. At night, visiting from house to house was frequent, and food and liquor were exchanged.

# Diagram No. 16

## Dog-drawn Kometic



At the close of the season, the men hauled the logs at the shoreline by kometic and dog traction. Only during the following fall were the logs taken by boat to the Harrington Islands.

b) Building production

The boats, the kometic, the houses, and many of the wooden structures characteristic of the fishing village communities of the Quebec-Labrador coast were built in Harrington Harbour with the raw materials extracted from the mainland resources. This building labour process was strictly a domestic industry.

The instruments of labour were non-mechanized, and involved simple carpenter tools and the pit-saw.

Generally speaking, every head of a nuclear family in Harrington Harbour had some knowledge of carpentry. The skills and the knowledge involved in building were transmitted from father to son. But the complexity of the building needs of the various households in the village community of Harrington Harbour encouraged a form of work exchange between the family heads. These exchanges were reciprocal and structured according to the symmetrical dyadic contract (Foster 1961).

Thus cooperation in building production was characterized by a diffused form of cooperation based on community and kinship ties. However, the unit of production was mostly composed of male members belonging to the immediate family.

c) Hunting

Bird and caribou hunting were important subsistence activities in Harrington Harbour. Bird hunting was carried out sporadically; a variety of birds --both mainland and island species-- were hunted. Caribou hunting was carried out during the fall.

In both bird and caribou hunting, the instrument of labour was the firearm. Generally, these two activities were carried out by pairs of hunters, usually brothers. Moreover, the hunting territories were commonly shared, and pairs of hunters often hunted side by side.

Interactions between hunters in a given territory were marked by an atmosphere of companionship. However, the product of labour of each pair of hunters was only shared on equal terms by the members of the hunting pair, and not among the several pairs of hunters in a given hunting territory. The result of the labour of each hunter was consumed by the members of his nuclear family.

d) Gathering

Gathering was also an important subsistence activity in Harrington Harbour; it involved mostly berry and bake-apple picking.

The instrument of labour was very simple. It involved mostly a quasi-direct relationship of man to nature without the intervention of tools except for the container.

All the members of the nuclear family participated in the gathering process. In the late summer when berries were ripe, children were sent out to pick them; at the end of August they were sent to pick bake-apples. On the Lord's day during the cod fishing season, the men would not go out to their traps but would participate in gathering berries and bake-apples with their wives and children. They would also participate in gathering activities in September and October, after the closing of the fishing season.

During an afternoon of berry picking, different groups of children, or families could be seen together in the berry patches. They shared them, and interacted with each other as though it were a holiday. However, the gathering parties generally picked only for the needs of their respective nuclear families.

## 2. The social relations of production in subsistence production.

In subsistence production, the objects of production were not private property. The hunting and gathering territories and the resources on the mainland of Harrington Harbour were common property. Anyone was entitled to use these resources without legal restrictions.

In market production, on the other hand, the fishing sites and berth places on the waters of Harrington were restricted by legal property rights, and the resources controlled by an aristocratic under-class of fishermen (i.e., the skippers).

Therefore, there was a difference in the modes of ownership of the objects of production in subsistence and market production. Subsistence production was characterized by a communal form of ownership of the mainland, and market production by a private form of ownership of the productive portions of the sea.

Moreover, in market production, the product of labour circulated within the market before an exchange product returned within the community. Even if labour was not completely alienated to the over-class of non-producers outside the village community, their result of labour was.

In subsistence production, on the other hand, the product of labour was exchanged directly between members within the village community without going through the market. It was not alienated as in market production.

To be sure, differential degrees of alienation to the over-class of urban fish merchants explain why the forms of cooperation in the subsistence labour processes differed so sharply from those in the market labour processes.

In the subsistence labour processes, industry and community were less divorced. In fact, the composition of the productive units followed kinship principles. The work groups were generally formed with members of the nuclear family. Since the natural units of consumption in Harrington Harbour were the nuclear family, both the units of production and the units of consumption tended to coincide in subsistence production. Exchange between the direct producers also tended to be symmetrical and reciprocal based on the dyadic contract (Foster 1961).

On the other hand, in the market labour processes, the natural units of consumption within the community did not coincide with the units of production. In fact, the fishing crews were not formed primarily with members of the nuclear family. Other members joined the crews, which

were selected by the skippers on a non-kinship basis. Thus industry and household tended to be divorced in market production. Moreover, the exchange between the direct producers (sharemen-skipper) was symmetrical and rested on the patron-client contracts (Foster 1963).

In other words, when subsistence activities were dominant in the fishing community of Harrington Harbour during the annual cycle, symmetrical social relationships were activated within the community. Kinship and reciprocity were the dominant principles of social organization, then. However, when fishing activities were present, the nature of the social relationships in the community changed. They became asymmetrical, and mercantile relationships ruled the exchange within the community structure.

In the final analysis, the difference in the mode of ownership of the objects of production and the mode of exchange of the product of labour explain the annual variations in the forms of cooperation within the fishing community of Harrington Harbour and the dual social organization. In other words, this dual social structure was the result of the interplay of the two opposite modes of production which we have revealed within the fishing community of Harrington Harbour.

## IV. CONCLUSION

The capitalist profit of the over-class of fish merchants in the pre-industrial mercantile centres depended on the sale in world markets of the fish produce of the under-class fishermen in Harrington Harbour. These market conditions were uncertain, and the merchants had no control over the price structure of fish. For the security of their capital investment in the fishing industry and the maximization of their capitalist profit, their strategy was to minimize the importation of urban-consumer goods to the under-class fishermen of Harrington Harbour, and to encourage the development of a subsistence mode of production within the fishing community. This left as much economic surplus as possible for the urban fish merchants. In other words, a sufficient margin of profit for their capitalist expansion was generated only by the under-class fishermen's participation in subsistence activities.

Thus, the domination of the fishing community by an over-class of fish merchants explains why the community contains a double mode of production hierarchically arranged in relation to the pre-industrial mercantile centres. In fact, by itself the market mode of production could not reproduce itself and at the same time provide a sufficient capitalist profit for the dominant over-class of fish merchants. Thus, to supplement the strict necessities which

the fish merchants exchanged for the fishermen's produce, both the upper and the lower under-class fishermen were obliged to participate in various degrees in subsistence activities.

However, the participation of the upper under-class fishermen in the local subsistence mode of production was normally rather minimal. In fact, part of the result of the labour in the subsistence mode of production was offered to them by the lower under-class fishermen. These lower under-class fishemen sought to intitiate and sustain patron-client relationships with the upper under-class fishermen to avail themselves of their protection and to obtain credit from the fish merchant and a share in the controlled local and non-local resources.

To be sure, the so-called traditional fishing village community of Harrington Harbour was never really traditional in the full sense of the word. It always had within it a capitalist content. In fact, it has always been a community dominated by pre-industrial mercantile centres. These centres explain the presence of the double mode of production we have identified in it and their particular combination. They are in fact a response to the capitalist needs of an over-class of urban fish merchants.

# CHAPTER IV

# THE PROLETARIANIZED VILLAGE COMMUNITY

## I. INTRODUCTION

The fishing village community of Harrington Harbour has become a proletarianized village community, especially since 1950. This will be shown by the descriptions of the structure of the present labour force in Harrington Harbour and of the village social structure which is based increasingly on alienated consumption (Fromm 1955:120-121) --that is, on the conspicuous use of imported metropolitan commodities.

In fact, the present relations of production in Harrington Harbour with the external economy are capitalist-proletarian relationships. All the members of the community have now lost control, not only over the ownership of the means of subsistence and over the reproduction of their community, but also over their own persons. The results of their labour are alienated to a capitalist over-class, as in the past, and, in addition, the people and the whole community are alienated to the capitalist forces outside the community.

This change, as it is contended in this chapter, is the result of changes which occurred in the centres of domination. In fact, since 1950, the community of Harrington Harbour has become subjected to the domination of the indus-

trial non-manufacturing mercantile centre of Sept-Iles-Quebec City instead of to pre-industrial mercantile centres. In other words, the intra-community socio-economic relationships present in the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour since the 1950's are a response to the capitalist needs of the new over-class of industrial entrepreneurs and commodity merchants which has emerged outside of the community.

To put the proletaranized village community into proper focus, we would do well at this point to recall the distinction between the former and the present type of centres under which the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour has developed (see chapter 2). Before 1950, the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour developed under pre-industrial mercantile centres. These are centres in which there existed no primary nor any secondary industries, but where commercial over-classes transacted with the peripheral community to sell their fish production on the world markets. After 1950, on the other hand, the village community of Harrington Harbour developed under a different kind of centre, a centre which we have called an industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre. This is a centre in which there exists industry. However, the industry is mostly primary. Secondary industry or manufacturing is rather insignificant. In this centre, the industrial over-classes

rule in conjunction with the commercial over-classes who transact with the peripheral community not to sell the community's product on the outside markets, but to sell metropolitan imported consumer goods to it.

Before dealing in any detail with our subject matter, a few more precise statements about the present settlement pattern of the proletarianized village community of Harrington Harbour are in order.

The village population since 1950 has grown from 399 to 599 people. Adding the outsiders-in-residence of essentially urban origin who have moved in mostly since the 1950's, the actual total of the village population at the time of study was 586 people, an increase of approximately 1/3 of the original population.

The present settlement pattern of the community of Harrington Harbour is such that this population can be said to be divided into various local groups, among which there are three important ones, two located on the mainland and the other in the island environment.

The two mainland settlements are Cross-River and Aylmer Sound, while the island settlement is located on the Harrington Island, mostly on the island of Harrington Harbour,

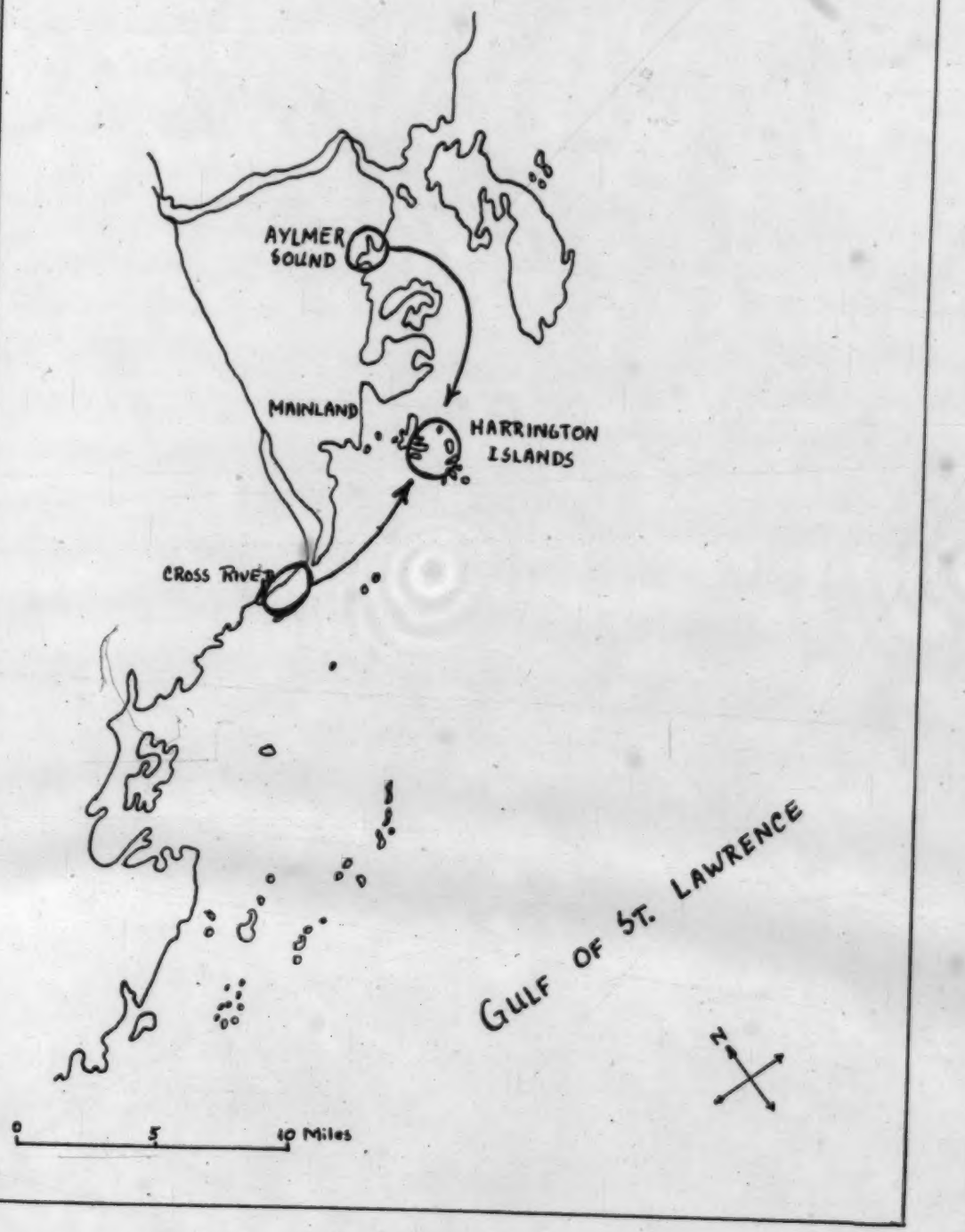
or Hospital Island, where the older fishing community was originally located. Aylmer Sound is situated to the east and Cross-River to the west, each about eight miles from the Harrington Islands (see map no. 3).

The island settlement of Harrington Harbour contains about half of the population of the Harrington community. Moreover, this population is permanently settled there. It does not move back to the mainland in the winter season. The remaining portion of the population is distributed more or less equally among the other two mainland settlements of Cross-River and Aylmer Sound. Cross-River is a permanent settlement like Harrington Harbour. Aylmer Sound, on the other hand, still practices, to a certain extent, transhumance. As such, it is only a winter settlement. In the summer, its population moves about living mostly on the outside islands near Harrington Harbour.

Interaction between the mainland settlements and the island settlement of Harrington Harbour is intense, and the most common pattern of communication in the area. In the summer, communication is by water transport. In the winter, the ice freezes over to permit communication by dog sled or snowmobile.

Map No. 3

Present Settlement Pattern of the Community of Harrington Harbour



## II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE LABOUR FORCE

The local merchants and agents are relatively numerous for the size of the population of Harrington Harbour. There are 5 general merchants and 6 specialized agents in Harrington Harbour. The major ones have their commercial establishments on the island of Harrington Harbour. There is a small merchant located in Aylmer Sound and two others in Cross-River.

These local merchants and agents are integrated into a commercial network beyond the community. In fact, they serve as the primary link which relates the peripheral community to the world manufacturing centres via Sept-Iles and Quebec City. The over-class of commodity merchants in Sept-Iles and Quebec City serve as a secondary link.

The viability of this commercial network required a peripheral community oriented toward consumerism. But in the last analysis, this was made possible by increasing the circulation of money in the community with wage labour and government assistance.

Men in Harrington Harbour prefer a local proletarian occupation to fishing. Few would like their sons to become fishermen. To be sure, the domination of the village

community by an industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre has conditioned their choice.

The price of fish on the international markets has not increased in proportion to the increase of the cost of even the most traditional metropolitan goods. The constant increase in the cost of operation of the fishing industry in Harrington Harbour and the gradual reduction of the margin of profit has discouraged the older patron-client relationship of the fish merchant over-class fishermen with the under-class fishermen. In other words, capitalist development in Harrington Harbour has forced the fish merchant over-class to abandon the under-class fishermen, leaving them at the mercy of a new over-class, the commodity merchants, which offered no credit and promoted the purchase of metropolitan goods.

The new over-class of commodity merchants from Quebec City demand payment in cash not only for the right to consume the most traditional metropolitan goods, but also for fishing supplies and equipment. The pressure for a cash income and the stimulation of greater material wants has conditioned the fishermen in Harrington Harbour to seek proletarian occupation in place of fishing and to adopt a materialistic approach towards life.

There is a real cash income differential between the condition of the fishermen and the proletarians. Thus,

according to the logic of greater material satisfaction, fishing in Harrington Harbour is necessarily subordinated to proletarian occupations. In this sense, even if fishing is still practiced to some degree, the village community of Harrington Harbour is truly a proletarianized village. All the men in the village labour force are essentially men who aspire to become proletarians. Those that have to resort to fishing as a means of livelyhood are nothing more than mere unemployed proletarians.

In Harrington Harbour, the majority of the population are unemployed proletarians. The village community of Harrington Harbour lacks employment in industry. Capital accumulation in the hands of local residents was always too restricted in the past. The domination by an over-class of fish merchants did not permit the emergence of an industrial entrepreneurial local class in the village community of Harrington Harbour. In fact, it would have been contrary to the law of capitalist development which needs to create underdevelopment at one pole of the economy for the growth of the opposite pole, the metropolis.

Only the central governmental and religious bureaucracies offer employment opportunities in the village community of Harrington Harbour. These opportunities are restricted. Less than 20% of the total active population

hold such employment, while the best paying jobs are monopolized by the urban outsiders-in-residence. The remaining portion of the active population is forced to become either unemployed proletarians or migrant and urban proletarians in Sept-Iles.

The Sept-Iles area is really a complex of mining towns in the interior Labrador (Wabush Mine, Labrador City) linked to a port-city (Sept-Iles) on the coast by a railway. Since 1950 labour demand in this industrializing area has been in great demand, but it has varied in nature according to the developing phases of this industrial complex. During the early years of the development of the mining complex, construction workers were in greater demand than industrial workers. Later there was a greater need of industrial workers with more or less specialized skills. All in all, however, regardless of the changes in the nature of the labour demand over time, one thing has remained constant in the labour demand within this industrializing centre: the area demanded the co-existence of two types of workers for the maximization of the industrial profits of the American corporations operating mines there. These are: urban proletarians and migrant proletarians.

An urban proletarian is a worker who has left a hinterland underdeveloped village community such as Harrington

Harbour for an industrializing centre (such as Sept-Iles) to work for its capitalist industrial elites as a permanent resident of the centre. On the other hand, a migrant proletarian is a worker who has also left a hinterland underdeveloped village community for an industrializing centre to work for its capitalist entrepreneurial elites as a seasonal worker. He moves to and from his village community to the industrializing centre without ever looking forward to establishing permanent residence in the centre.

From the point of view of the industrializing centre, urban proletarians are more costly to support than migrant proletarians. The latter remain partly supported by their home community while working within the developing centre. Moreover, because of higher pay demands and better working condition, at a certain point the urban proleterians become unprofitable to the developing centre in question. The migrant proletarians remain more profitable. They demand less in wages and are less able to organize because of their mobility and because they come from so many different communities. All in all, the migrant proletarians are the cheapest source of man power in industrializing mining centres such as Sept-Iles. As such, they are in greater demand than the urban proletarians.

Therefore, to describe the structure of the village labour force, the conditions of the various categories of

proletarians in Harrington Harbour will be defined.

1. The outsiders-in-residence

The outsiders-in-residence form a very small percentage of the total population, in fact as little as 1 per cent of the total village population. There are three teachers, a doctor, a dentist, a few nurses, an Anglican minister, and a United Church minister; including wives and children, the outsiders-in-residence number about 20 people.

The outsiders-in-residence are bureaucratic proletarians hired and paid by the central bureaucracies to perform specialized tasks in Harrington Harbour. The central bureaucracies provide accommodation and the basic means of production necessary for the performance of their work.

The outsiders-in-residence are generally of urban background. They are alien to the community and have no kinship ties with the local residents.

The outsiders-in-residence are comparatively highly educated, trained in the fields of education, medecine and religion. Because their earnings are generally greater than those of most local resident in Harrington Harbour, they can adopt a more comfortable life style. Moreover,

the dwellings provided by the central bureaucracies stand out against the local residents' accomodation. They are equipped with better and more modern facilities. They appear more sumptuous, especially the doctor's and the minister's dwellings.

These outsiders-in-residence have no direct liaison with the over-class of commodity merchants nor with the entrepreneurial over-class in Sept-Iles and Quebec City. Nonetheless, their roles, although technical in practice, are also ideological, serving the economic interests of the dominant over-classes. By their differential life style and their "conspicous consumption" (Veblen 1962), they transmit standards and values within the local village community which facilitate the exploitation of the local residents and the expansion of the over-class of commodity merchants.

2. The local bureaucratic proletarians

The local bureaucratic proletarians are residents hired and paid by the central bureaucracies in the same manner as the outsiders-in-residence. However, these bureaucratic proletarians have kinship ties with other members in the local community, and the work which they perform requires less specialized skills. Generally, the local bureaucratic proletarians are less well paid than the outsiders-in-residence. But there are also important variations in the earn-

ings of the local bureaucratic proletarians.

There are two types of jobs held by the local bureaucratic proletarians: the steady jobs and the casual jobs.

Most of the steady jobs are seasonal. However, they provide a regular cash income from year to year. They demand a higher degree of literacy than the casual jobs, but a high degree of formal training is not necessary.

Steady jobs are few in number. They are held mostly by men, and they can be classified under ten government departments and corporations (see table no. 5).

The work place for most of the steady jobs is on the island of Harrington Harbour, where most of the workers who hold such jobs have their home residence.

Casual jobs are just as rare as the steady jobs. But the difference is that they tend to vary in number from year to year, and in various periods of the year.

Casual jobs are generally scarcer in winter. In the summer, some kind of work is always available, especially in construction and public works. However, the winter period

TABLE 5. - Steady jobs by governmental departments and corporations.

| Department/or corporation | Job specification | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dept. of Health and Welfare | Laundress | | 1 |
| | Cook | | 1 |
| | Nurse's aid | | 4 |
| | Janitor | 2 | |
| | Handy man | 4 | |
| Dept. of Transport | Light house keeper | 9 | |
| Dept. of Education | Teacher | 1 | 1 |
| | Janitor | 3 | |
| Post Office | Post master | 1 | |
| | Mail carriers | 3 | |
| Dept. of Fisheries | Federal fishery officer | 1 | |
| | Assistant fishery officer | 2 | |
| Dept. of Commerce & Industry | Prov. fishery officer | 1 | |
| | Assistant fishery officer | 1 | |
| Dept. of Northern Affairs | Game warden | 3 | |
| Hydro Quebec | Attendant | 1 | |
| Quebec Telephone | Attendant | 1 | |
| Dept. of Public Works | Warfer | 1 | |
| | Total | 34 | 7 |

of 1964-1968 was plentiful in casual work. In fact, the federal and provincial governments supported a five-year winter works program for which all the male labour force in Harrington Harbour was eligible. In fact, most men in Harrington Harbour were more or less forced to participate in this program because any other form of social assistance during the period was denied.

The winter works program forced the men of Harrington Harbour to exert energy to achieve impossible goals in sub-zero weather. Many of the public work projects undertaken, such as the construction of a highway from Harrington Harbour to Sept-Iles, were unrealistic because labour depended mostly on manpower. The administration did not provide the heavy equipment or the tools necessary for effective labour. Manpower alone was clearly incapable of performing such formidable tasks because of the difficult topography of the coast and its low population density.

In the final analysis, the winter works program was demoralizing for the village labour force. In the first place, it was not intended by the governmental bureaucratic elites to be a productive program. It was a busy work form of social assistance to provide a greater source of cash income to the local residents, and to reproduce a consumer-oriented village economy for the expansion of the over-class of commodity merchants in Sept-Iles and Quebec City.

### 3. The local industrial urban proletarians

By genealogical method, we can establish that 136 men and women have moved away to the city on a permanent basis to become industrial workers. Twice as many women as men have moved away (88 moves recorded for women - 48 moves recorded for men).

Urban migration from Harrington Harbour has increased gradually since 1875 to reach its maximum peak during the period 1950-1969 (see table no. 6).

TABLE 6. -Urban Emigration according to sex

| Period | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| 1870-1874 | - | - |
| 1875-1899 | 1 | - |
| 1900-1924 | 5 | 2 |
| 1925-1949 | 8 | 20 |
| 1950-1969 | 34 | 66 |

(SOURCE: author's genealogical survey)

Until 1950, the urban proletarians settled in cities in Central Canada, especially Toronto. However, development of the Sept-Iles area in 1950 has modified the trend. Many of the urban emigrant proletarians have since settled in Sept-Iles.

In spite of urban emigration, population growth in Harrington Harbour has remained constant. Even after 1950, when urban emigration increased substantially, the population increased from 399 to 566 people, an increase proportionately equivalent to the prior periods (see table no. 3, ch. 3).

## 4. The local migrant industrial proletarians

Most men in Harrington Harbour at some point in their lives have been industrial migrant workers, especially since the Second World War. In fact, a study of the occupational history of married men in Harrington Harbour reveals that more than 2/3 of them have been migrant workers. They were migrant workers mostly before marriage. Only a fraction of them have decided to continue their careers as migrant proletarians after marriage.

Men in Harrington Harbour generally marry women from Harrington Harbour or neighbouring villages. They seldom marry outsiders (that is city women), but women do.

Consequently, at marriage, the migrant workers in Harrington Harbour choose to settle with their local or coastal wives in their home community: their family life encourages them to abandon their careers as migrant workers. When possible, they become local bureaucratic proletarians instead. Otherwise they remain unemployed proletarians.

The career pattern of most men in Harrington Harbour is also followed today by the young unmarried people. There are in fact very few unmarried young men in Harrington Harbour. They are away much of the time, mostly in Sept-Iles.

Generally, they leave in groups and migrate to centres where they have friends and relatives. In Sept-Iles especially, friends and relatives assume the responsibility of lodging and caring for them while they are passing through town, for instance before they leave for the mining cities in the interior of Labrador.

When they return home, after a season or more of work, they spend much of their wage income on entertainment and liquor in Sept-Iles, or in their home community. Nonetheless, like the older ex-migrant proletarians of Harrington Harbour, their hope is, in time, to accumulate enough savings to invest in the establishment of a new household in Harrington Harbour, modelled on the urban households.

Therefore, migrant labour in the occupational career of most men in Harrington Harbour is a stage which institutes the household units in the village community primarily as consumer units geared towards the purchase of metropolitan goods.

### 5. The local unemployed proletarians.

Most of the unemployed proletarians in Harrington Harbour practice fishing. Their ways of fishing however have undergone change. In cod fishing, they generally use the gill nets or the jigger. In seal fishing, the technique in general use is the shoal net.

Since 1950, special governmental premiums to the fishermen have encouraged the adoption of the gill net and the shoal net. These new techniques are not more productive than the older fishing techniques. Their main advantage is that they are not shore techniques, and do not require an extensive capital outlay. They also require a less rigid labour organization. Any common fishermen can become an owner of the instruments of labour. Ownership cannot be the privilege of the few as in the past.

The gill net and shoal net fishing crews in Harrington Harbour vary in number. They are also made up of married men of the same generation, mostly brothers and

neighbours who belong to the village unemployed (see table nos. 7).

The different size of the fishing crews can be explained by the flexibility of the fishing techniques employed. Their being composed of older fishermen, on the other hand, reflects the fact that the community of Harrington Harbour experiences the exodus of their youth as migrant workers.

The unemployed proletarians in Harrington Harbour who are associated in the fishing crews have chosen their membership by mutual consent. They work together, and pool their instruments of labour. At the end of the fishing season, the crew members share equally in the profits or losses.

## III. THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE PROLETARIANIZED VILLAGE

In this section we will describe the proletarianized village consumer-oriented community of Harrington Harbour by first discussing the basis of the internal social classes in the community. Then we shall show a relationship between the social classes and the present settlement pattern of the community.

TABLE 7. - Composition of Gill net and Shoal net fishing crews. (1969)

| Crew No. | Size of Crew | Descendant Generation | Same Generation | Ascendant Generation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 2 | | 2 | |
| 2. | 3 | | 3 | |
| 3. | 3 | | 2 | 1 |
| 4. | 3 | | 3 | |
| 5. | 3 | | 3 | |
| 6. | 3 | | 3 | |
| 7. | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 8. | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 9. | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 10. | 5 | | 5 | |
| 11. | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 12. | 3 | | 3 | |
| 12 | 38 | 7 | 29 | 2 TOTAL |

(SOURCE: field interview)

## 1. The basis of the internal social classes

There are family income differentials in Harrington Harbour. Family income differentials are due mostly to the unequal distribution of wage labour opportunities offered by the capitalist over-class in the village community of Harrington Harbour.

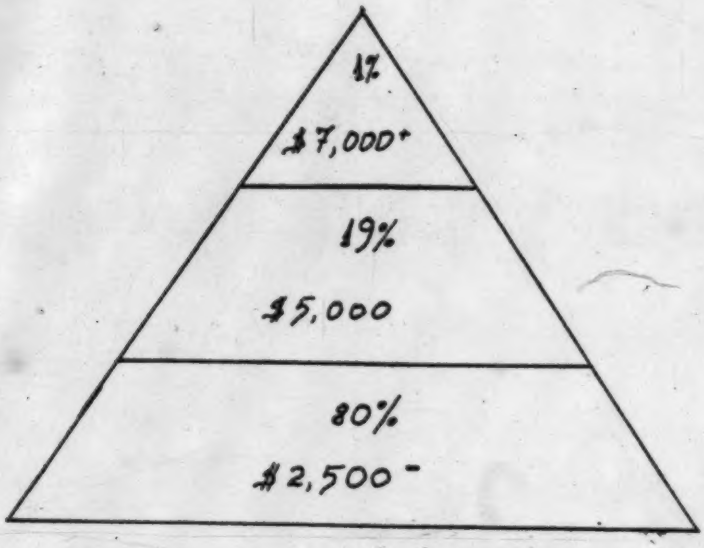
In fact, about 80% of the proletarian family heads in Harrington Harbour are forced into a more or less perpetual state of unemployment because of an arrested village economy. These are the families who belong to the lower income group, deriving their cash incomes mostly from social assistance or as under-employed fishermen. Their estimated annual cash income is less than $2,500.

About another 19% of the proletarian families in Harrington Harbour have higher annual cash incomes estimated at around $5,000. These are the families who have a monopoly on the casual or steady cash income bureaucratic employment in the village community.

On the other hand, the outsiders-in-residence and the local merchants, who form barely 1% of the total village population, earn a disproportionate amount of annual cash income exceeding $7,000 ( see diagram no. 17 ).

Diagram No. 17

Estimated Distribution of Annual Family Cash Income from all Sources in Harrington Harbour (1969)




In Harrington Harbour, one's status is based on one's ability to purchase metropolitan commodities for conspicuous use.

An ideal level of consumption geared toward conspicuous use of metropolitan goods has been established by the social influence and the particular life-style of the local merchants and the outsiders-in-residence who serve, in

fact, as a kind of official local colonial class. The proletarian families in the community who are able to conform to this consumption ideal think of themselves as upper class, while those who cannot are considered lower class.

It goes without saying that this pattern of consumption is an alienated pattern of consumption. It serves foremost the interests of the commodity merchant over-class, and not the needs of the community.

In general, it can be estimated that to realize this ideal consumption pattern in Harrington Harbour, a proletarian family requires at least $5,000 cash income annually. The family must buy not only a certain quantity of metropolitan commodities but everything it consumes. Consumption of fish or seal meat, or a house built with local lumber generally elicits an apology from the family members: it is to admit to one's inability to spend as much as one would need to spend to be considered upper class.

There are only a handful of families in Harringtn Harbour that have the ability to buy the material class symbols of the local colonial families. Thus, upper class status is restricted to only a small fraction of the local proletarian families, generally to only those families in Harrington Harbour in the higher income group ($5,000), that

is, barely 20% of the total village population.

Thus, the village community of Harrington Harbour is internally divided into a secondary social class system. It is a class structure based on an ideal pattern of consumption in which the proletarian families stratify themselves in terms of their ability to buy colonial class symbols.

## 2. Characteristics of the social classes

The families of the local colonial class in Harrington Harbour look upon themselves as industrious, hard-working, and deserving people. They generally perceive the other families in the community as shiftless, lazy, and lacking in initiative.

The upper class families share with the colonial families visual social class symbols. To acquire them, the yearly earnings of these families are spent. Thus, like the lower class families, they are really poor and moneyless, but their poverty is not as evident.

Nonetheless, because of the colonial material class symbols which they own, and which they can flaunt at the lower class families in Harrington Harbour, the members of the upper class families feel part of the local colonial

class, possessing some of its qualities. Surely, they are as worthy, as industrious, and hard-working. Their material class symbols are there to witness this.

Consequently, like the colonial class, the upper class members in Harrington Harbour tend to explain the relative poverty of the lower class members as the result of lack of initiative, shiftlessness, and laziness.

Their class identity with the local colonial class, moreover, manifests itself in the particular pattern of social interaction which can be observed in the community. The members of the colonial class families will tend to associate more with them; they will tend themselves to associate in an informal manner with members of the upper class families. They will visit each other's house, play cards together and chat. Briefly, there is an intense network of social interaction among the local colonial and upper class families in Harrington Harbour.

Members of the lower class families are generally isolated by a sense of unworthiness inculcated in them by the local colonial and upper classes. In the eyes of the lower class families, the local colonial and the upper class families are set apart, and rank highest in the community status hierarchy. Their greater participation in public life and community affairs and their higher standard of

living are accepted by the lower class as natural. In fact, most members of the lower class families manifest a low self-esteem and an inferiority complex in contact with local colonial and upper class members. Briefly, they see themselves as the local colonial and upper classes see them: shiftless, lazy, and undeserving human beings.

Until 1964, most lower class families accepted without question the local colonial and upper class definition of themselves as if it was the will of "God". But as will be shown further, the present settlement pattern of the village community is a challenge to this status by some of the lower class families.

In the final analysis, the distinctions between the upper class families and the lower class families are only symbolic. Most lower class families are alienated by the consumption of metropolitan commodities to the same degree as the upper class families. They are just as consumer-oriented but because they have less money they must live under their consumption ideal. They will therefore rely more on subsistence activities to provide them with many of the necessities of life, and will spend the little money they have on metropolitan "luxury goods". Depending on their particular financial situation from year to year, the lower class families will tend to use more or less local alternatives to obtain the maximum amount of "luxury"

metropolitan goods within the range of their limited budget.

The typical lower class families, for example, will normally eat fish, wild game, and even seal meat. Most certainly, they will live in a house constructed with local lumber. But most likely, they will own a snowmobile, some modern household appliances, etc.

### 3. The social classes and the community's settlement pattern.

Most families in the mainland settlements of Harrington Harbour feel a sense of relative deprivation in relation to the island settlement. Most local colonial families, the bigger merchants, and most of the community services are located on the island of Harrington Harbour. Because of greater population size (*) , this settlement is able to attract more government subsidies and more job opportunities for its residents.

More households from the upper class families live on the island of Harrington Harbour than elsewhere. In fact, it can be said that most families in the mainland settlements of Harrington Harbour are lower class.

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(*) The island of Harrington Harbour houses more than half of the total village population.

Since 1964, the village community of Harrington Harbour is a formation composed of three major social segments. Cross-River is a new mainland settlement formed by lower class families who broke away, around 1964, mostly from the mainland settlement of Aylmer Sound (*) but also from the island settlement of Harrington Harbour.

Between the lower class families on the mainland settlements, especially Cross-River, and the families on the island of Harrington Harbour there is a general lack of cooperation, even among close relatives (**), and a great deal of social tension and friction. The families settled in Cross-River are the most militant lower class families in Harrington Harbour.

The explanation for this social situation is that the formation of Cross-River in 1964 was the result of disparity between the mainland and the island. By having

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(*) Aylmer Sound is the oldest major mainland settlement in Harrington Harbour.

(**) Most families in the three social segments of the community of Harrington Harbour can trace close kinship ties among themselves. They have a common history, and a common language: English.

formed Cross-River, the lower class in Harrington Harbour hope to obtain upper class status for themselves at the expense of the upper class families settled on the island of Harrington Harbour. Their hope is that the government will establish services in Cross-River, or even move those already present on the island of Harrington Harbour to Cross-River. In other words, they hope to attract government subsidies and jobs for the resident population of Cross-River instead of for the residents of the island of Harrington Harbour.

## IV. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have shown by the description of the structure of the present labour force in Harrington Harbour that the older fishing community has become proletarianized. Its proletarianization has permitted its reorganization in terms of an internal social class structure based on alienated consumption and conspicuous use of metropolitan commodities.

If, in the past, the product of the labour of the fishing community was alienated to pre-industrial mercantile centres and its fish merchant over-class, today it is the village labour force as such and the whole community which are alienated to outside capitalist forces.

In fact, the present village community of Harrington Harbour is hierarchically arranged into three spatial social segments: an island settlement, and two mainland settlements. These settlements, in spite of their common history and many affinities, compete against one another for local colonial material class symbols sold in cash by the commodity merchant over-class.

Most of the local colonial and upper class families are settled on the island of Harrington Harbour, while the mainland settlements contain the bulk of the lower class families. Thus, we have in Harrington Harbour a vertical spatial distribution of competing social classes. To be sure, this spatial social class arrangement within the community of Harrington Harbour, far from contributing to its development, alienates it more and more from itself, and benefits the economic interests of the commodity merchant over-class.

In the final analysis, the social classes and the present settlement pattern in the peripheral community of Harrington Harbour can meaningfully be explained as responses to the capitalist needs of the commodity merchant over-class which has emerged in Quebec City since 1950 in conjunction with the formation of the industrializing centre of Sept-Iles. In other words, the present internal social structure of the village community of Harrington Harbour is

the result of changes which occurred in the pre-industrial mercantile centres under which it first developed. In fact, its present structure reflects the domination of the industrial non-manufacturing centre of Sept-Iles and Quebec City which replaced the pre-industrial mercantile centres.

# CHAPTER V

# CONCLUSION

Our study of socio-economic changes in Harrington Harbour was based on the hypothesis that it is the dialectical interaction of certain centres of domination with the community which can explain the structure of the social relations of production present in it. Our study opposes itself to a dualistic interpretation of socio-economic changes in so-called traditional communities.

Accordingly, we have attempted to show that the fishing village community and the proletarianized village community of Harrington Harbour are the results of the dialectical relationships of two types of centres of domination under which the peripheral community under study has developed.

Under the domination of pre-industrial mercantile centres until 1950, there were two distinctive modes of production present in the community: the market mode of production and the subsistence mode of production. Both of these modes of production were hierarchically arranged and articulated to the pre-industrial mercantile centres by juridical and political ties.

In the last analysis, the double modes of production and their particular combination are a response of the peripheral community to the material conditions of produc-

tion set by the dominant pre-industrial mercantile centres and their fish merchants. These modes of production were instituted and reproduced by the dominant over-class of fish merchants to play a special role in the capitalist development of pre-industrial mercantile centres and Canadian or world capitalism as such.

Under the domination of industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres after 1950, on the other hand, the village community of Harrington Harbour has become a proletarianized community. The labour force of the village and the whole community is alienated completely to outside capitalist forces. In fact, not only labour but also the consumption units within the village community are articulated to the industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centres by ideological ties.

In the final analysis, the proletarianized village community of Harrington Harbour and its social class structure based on conspicuous consumption of metropolitan commodities are responses to the changing material conditions of production set by the dominant entrepreneurial and commodity merchant over-classes in the Sept-Iles and Quebec City mercantile centres, around 1950. The internal social structure or secondary social class system within the community of Harrington Harbour has been instituted by the dominant centre under which the

community is developing, to play a special role in its capitalist development and that of Canadian and world capitalism.

In other words, the community of Harrington Harbour under the domination of an industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre has become completely depersonalized by capitalism and possessed by the dominant capitalist over-classes in the Sept-Iles and Quebec City industrial non-manufacturing mercantile centre.

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